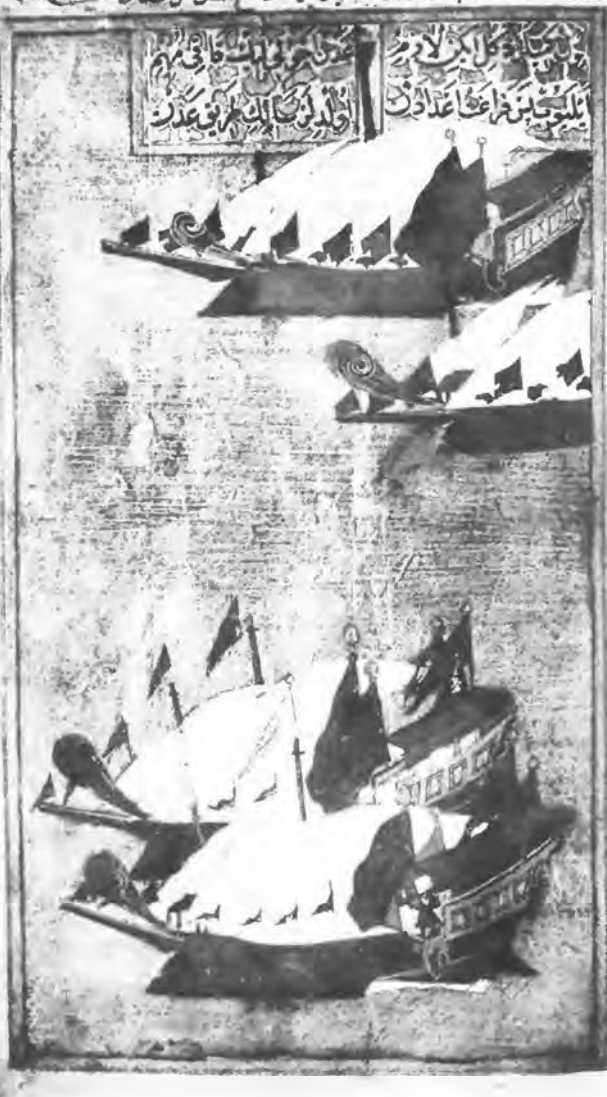


حال اصد اعظم شان بايچين سردار ايكين عدن ضد به ووقالك ووقمسيكلك
 قادره لرله حضركي كوندروب خيرمله دفعه شدا ولد ولسه



The Turkish superscription reads, 'While Sinān Pasha (now Grand Vizier) was commander-in-chief in the Yemen the Portuguese fleet came against Aden, so he sent Khidr Beg with the *qādyrgas* (against them): (here you see) how their wickedness was repulsed.' The verses run, 'As those (Portuguese) ships were not essential, but the affairs of Aden were of the greatest importance, they (the Turkish squadron) turned aside from the enemy and set their course for Aden'

The *qādyrgas* are propelled by sail and banks of oars. In the bows of each vessel a puff of smoke is coming from the muzzle of a gun

THE PORTUGUESE OFF THE SOUTH ARABIAN COAST

HADRAMĪ CHRONICLES

*With Yemeni and European accounts
of Dutch pirates off Mocha
in the seventeenth century*

BY
R. B. SERJEANT

LIBRAIRIE DU LIBAN
BEIRUT

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of the Aden Political Service in the field, and to the staff of the Clarendon Press for the very great pains they have taken with this book.

Since publication of this book has been unavoidably delayed for several years, new materials relevant to it have meanwhile appeared. Dr. L. O. Schuman's *Political History of the Yemen at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century* (Groningen, 1962) (review *Bull. of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1962, xxv. 2. 350-1) covers the years 1500-19. Portuguese activities as seen from Mameluke Egypt are recorded in *Die Chronik des Ibn Ijās*, pt. iv (Wiesbaden, 1960). There is much information pertinent to our story here, notably concerning the pay, recruitment, and constitution of the Mameluke forces sent to South Arabia, and it is particularly interesting to find numbers of troops excused service abroad since they were afflicted with *ḥabb Ifrandjī*, the 'bouton franc'! It is my intention to translate and comment on these passages to supplement this volume. Where trade and sea-faring are concerned the reader may now profitably consult G. R. Tibbetts, 'Arab Navigation in the Red Sea', *Geographical Journal* (London, 1961), cxxvii. 3. 322-34, based on G. Ferrand's texts, and L. Riveiro, 'Uma Geografia Quinhentista', *Studia* (Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, Portugal) (Lisboa, 1961), vii. 200, 202-4, for Aden, Fartak, al-Shiḥr, and Zufār.

R. B. SERJEANT

FOREWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION

Since the first edition of this book was published by the Clarendon Press about ten years ago, new studies relevant to my researches have appeared, there are more recent though not necessarily improved editions of older texts, in further reading one chances upon additional data, and I have now published an article on the *habb ifrandjī*¹. Above all, my two journeys in the former Royalist areas of northern Yemen and subsequent visits to the Republic have acquainted me with such enchantingly remote places as Shahārah and Sūdah, formerly for me only uncertain positions on a map, as well as Ṣan'a', Ta'izz, and Mocha. Through the hospitality of H.B.M. Consul in Muscat, Mr David Crauford, and Mrs Crauford, I was able to see the Portuguese inscriptions published on pp. 163-66, and of course visit Djalālī fort. In 1967 my wife and I were privileged to be numbered among the civilian members of the Middle East Command Expedition to Socotra led by Major Peter Boxhall when the last dark days of the Aden Federation were beginning: it is unlikely that we shall be able to visit this beautiful island again.

To Dr Ray L. Cleveland I am indebted for sending me his review from the *Middle East Journal* (xvii, iii, 1963) the corrections in which I have incorporated in the present reprint, except for a few cases where I do not altogether agree with him, and to Mr Abd al-Hafez Kamal of Aramco I am indebted also for a letter criticising certain points and suggesting improvements, most of which I have accepted. Shaikh Muḥammad 'Abd al-Kādir Bā Matraf when we met last in al-Mukallā in 1964 also made useful suggestions discussed *infra*.

Among the more important new sources now available to me, I now have in my possession a photograph of a modern copy of Bā Sandjalāh's *Khatt*, from which it might be possible to improve my text, but in these last years I have had little time to turn to analysing this new find, and it would seem better to attempt an edition of the *Khatt in toto*. Editions of the works of Ahmad b. Mādjīd and Sulaimān al-Mahrī which have been appearing in Damascus make these authors easier to consult, the Beirut edition of *al-Bark al-Yamānī* renders this work more accessible, and at least some background information may be available in al-Maḥrizī's *K. al-Sulūk*, the publication of which has now been recommenced. Correlation of the data in my study might be made with *Die Chronik des Ibn Ijās*, edit. Mohamed Mostafa, Bibliotheca Islamica, 5d., vierter Teil, A.H. 906-921/A.D. 1501-1515, Wiesbaden, 1960. Dr Colin Imber has also drawn my attention to Turkish archival matter in the *Muhimme Defteri*, vols. iv-vi and provided me with extracts of the information contained therein. I regret that, in preparing the first edition, J. Strandes, *The Portuguese Period in East Africa*, trans. by J.

1. "Notices on the 'Frankish chancre' (Syphilis) in Yemen, Egypt and Persia," *Journal of Semitic Studies*, Manchester, x, ii, 241-52.

F. Wallwork, edit. J.S. Kirkman, Nairobi, 1961, came to my notice too late to use.

In 1964, at al-Shiḥr, Saiyid Muḥammad al-Mukhārish showed me the tomb of the "Seven Martyrs" slain by the Portuguese, though in fact only six persons are mentioned in the texts as meeting their end at Portuguese hands. The Bal-Ḥādjī shāikh (p. 53) mentioned as one of their number was said to be a son of 'Abdullāh Bal-Ḥādjī after whom Masjdīd 'Abdullāh Bal-Ḥādjī, in al-Shiḥr today, was named. The memory of the Portuguese actions against al-Shiḥr has not been forgotten there, and graves of unknown persons on the foreshore are popularly said to contain the mortal remains of others killed by the Portuguese. In al-Shiḥr, Bā Maṭraf is of the opinion that the Kathīrī fort (p. 27) was not Ḥuṣn Bin 'Aiyāsh, near the wādī of the same name, as I have suggested, for he thought that the Kathīrī fort would have been situated close to the shore.

From our camp in Socotra near Sūk we sailed by dhow along the north coast of the island as far as Kalansiyaḥ (Kalenzia), so I was able to study the organisation of this little port, and in general to amend, to some extent, the sections of the published text of Ibn al-Mudjāwir covering Socotra, as well as re-adjusting my observations on the island set out in Appendix V (pp. 157-9). Brian Doe, *Socotra, An Archaeological Reconnaissance in 1967*, Florida, 1970, has given a full account of the foundations of structures in the locality which he examined. On the bluff to the east of Sūk he studied a fort (Doe, 46, plates 47-9, fig. 22) which, one can have no doubt at all, was occupied and probably constructed by the Portuguese since it commands a view of the maritime approaches to Socotra from east and west, and also of the plain towards, and inland of Hadibu. It is a little difficult to reconcile the archaeological findings with Plate 12, but perhaps one should regard the fort with its adjacent tower to the left of the picture as representing that discovered by the Expedition on the bluff, and the building to the right of it with what appears to be a belfry as a church, as corresponding to the site excavated first by Shinnie and later by Doe, just outside Sūk.

Some points cannot be dealt with by simple adjustments to my text. For the second line of verse on p. 24. Abd al-Hafez Kamil proposes a reading *al-naḥdji* for *anḥudji*. If this can be accepted the translation might then run, "And began to rule them from that route." Presumably in this case it alludes to the arrival of the Franks via the Cape.

The word *takhṭaṭaf* which is rendered, "to act the pirate, to rob", (pp. 49, 58, 109) would accord with the note in *Tardjī' al-Aṭyār*, but in al-Mukalla it was later explained to me as "to pass a place", or, "they see it from afar (*yishūfūnah min ba'id*).". This sense might seem appropriate in some of these places.

1. Al-Ānisi, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Yahyā, *Tardjī' al-Aṭyār*, edit., 'Abd al-Raḥmān Iryānī & 'Abdullāh 'Abd al-Ilāh al-Aghbarī, Cairo, 1950, 345.

I have long doubted the accuracy of translating *ṣalb* as "crucifying" and in present-day Yemen it can be used of sticking a head up on a pole. This sense suits the events described on p. 95, and resolves the apparent inconsistency of the sources, one of which states that Shaikh 'Āmir was hanged, not crucified. So p. 95, lines 9-10, might be rendered, "He ordered them all to be strung up (*ṣalb*), and string them up they did..."

Abd al-Hafez Kamal further suggests that *marāmī* (sing. probably *mirmā*) in *marāmī li-'l-barūd* (pp. 161-2) means "guns" not "embrasures", although the word is not now so used. This seems to offer a better sense, and the translation would then read, "in which are guns (*marāmī li-'l-barūd*) for those who use them in fighting."

R. B. SERJEANT
Ṣan'a', June 1972

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INTRODUCTION

MANY times as the story of the Portuguese adventures in eastern waters has been told, yet of their assault on the Arab countries little has been written by Arab authors. This may perhaps be because the Arabs were themselves more preoccupied with the Ottoman conquest of their homelands which was to endure longer, and ultimately to prove more disastrous to them, than the bare century of Portuguese ascendancy in the Indian Ocean. While some of the Yemenite historians reporting the wars of Turk and Portuguese have been rendered into European languages, many phases of the political situation, many aspects of the social and economic changes, still remain obscure. Of the ports, tribes, and petty states of the southern coasts of Arabia which suffered alike from Portuguese and Turk, and of the reactions of the inhabitants, little has come to light except in so far as Aden is concerned, and Aden itself seems to have been so distressed by Turkish exactions, coupled with a fall in its commerce, as to give pride of place to Mocha; nor did it recover its pre-eminent position until after the British seized possession of it in the year 1839.

Before we can compile a history of south-west Arabia which is to have any permanent value, the Arabic sources, all but a pitiful few, must be edited and published—often they have still to be uncovered and their existence made known. The discovery of formerly unknown chronicles during the course of my field researches in Ḥaḍramawt can assist in its way to fill in some of the blank spaces in the Portuguese epic. This volume therefore is designed as a source-book and not a connected history, selecting the relevant notices and extracting them from the Arabic chronicles in manuscript, and adding to them further materials garnered from manuscript sources or printed books with the purpose of amplifying the stark statement of the chroniclers and of presenting new background data on the economics, social history, and maritime lore of southern Arabia about this period. Mr. O. Schuman has been examining the Arabic sources for the Yemen, whereas this volume deals more with Ḥaḍramawt, but our researches will doubtless prove to be complementary; both no doubt will form a small part of the survey which is being made by Fu'ād Saiyid of the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo, with the intention of compiling

a list of all known works on Yemenite history, thereby laying the foundations for an historical structure that will take many years to complete.

In a sense, the episode of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean is the logical culmination and triumph of Christendom's anti-Muslim thrust, stemming from the *Reconquista* of the Iberian Peninsula and the Crusades. For many years after Portuguese fleets had temporarily cleared the Indian Ocean of the Red Sea traders, the Turkish advance hung threateningly over Venice and Hungary, and the Islamic thrust against Christendom seemed only to have found a new chink in Europe's armour. Granted that the principal object of Portuguese ambitions was the capture of economic supremacy and even the monopoly of the eastern trade, there was always an underlying emotional consciousness of a holy war, matched on the Muslim side by the sentiment of the *djihad* against a dastardly and unprincipled foe. Yet Christendom itself was not united in support of the Portuguese, for the Venetians, friends and allies of the Egyptians, tried by every machination in their power to put an end to direct trade with the Indian Ocean via the Cape of Good Hope. The Mameluke Sultān of Egypt, instigated by Venice, imperiously demanded of the Pope and of Dom Manoel that they command all Christians to desist from navigation or trading in the Arabian Sea, threatening otherwise to slay the Christians of Egypt and destroy the Holy Sepulchre. Venetian intrigue failed, and while the Muslims, in desperation, managed to attain a certain unity of aim and even some degree of co-operation in resisting the Portuguese, yet their rivalries and mutual suspicions played into the hands of their pitiless enemy.

In this struggle the Portuguese, for their part, were hampered by paucity of man-power, resources, and capital. The distance from their home bases and the immensity of the area over which they operated made administrative control difficult, and their discipline was so bad as to be the cause of more than a few disasters. A feature of their wars in India is the Christian renegado, yet with the knowledge that Arab North Africa employed numbers of Christian renegados this need not surprise us. Portuguese caravels, designed for protracted and stormy voyages, were more seaworthy than Asiatic shipping built only to run with the monsoon and quite unable to withstand the Portuguese cannon, while the Egyptian and Turkish sailors, with limited maritime experience, found their

galleys better suited to the Mediterranean than the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Portuguese casualties were slight, since their armour was superior to that of their opponents, but their guns, though better than those they first encountered in India, were not superior to those of the Turks, and disease levied drastic toll of their numbers. Generally their morale was higher than that of their foes, a factor which often preserved them when their position seemed desperate, and their captains had tremendous racial pride coupled with a fanatical zeal against Islam. When expedient, and sometimes when inexpedient, their policy was ruthless and cruel.

Prior to the arrival of the Portuguese the Indian and Far East trade was controlled by Muslims. Though these were largely Arab Muslims, of south-west Arabia and Oman, Indians, Persians, Jews, and no doubt other races or religions participated in it. The sea-route by which the bulk of traffic went, ran from India to Hurmuz and up the Persian Gulf to Aleppo, or via the Gulf of Aden and Jeddah to Cairo and Venice. The control of the offshoot from this main stream, namely the trade of the East African seaboard cities, was also in the hands of Arabs for the most part. The regular to and fro of this commerce was conditioned by the wind-patterns of the monsoons, as it had been for many centuries before Islam.

The Venetians bought spices from the Levant, Beirut, and Alexandria for distribution to Europe and the ports of North Africa. Most of the vast profits of the trade accrued to the merchants of the Indian Ocean and Red Sea, the Sultans of Mameluke Egypt, and, of course, the Venetians. The heavy volume of traffic afforded an easy means of collecting revenue to those countries with ports at which shipping had perforce to call, and territory which caravans had to cross. Thus it provided a livelihood for many people who might otherwise have found it difficult to exist—merchants, traders, the sea-faring and docker communities of the long coastlines, and the Arabs dependent on hiring camels and herds to caravans. There being no other routes than via the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, or Persian territory itself, it may be inferred that the rulers had no fear of competition and could impose heavy customs dues at will.

After the final débâcle of the Crusades, some Europeans who understood the dependence of the Muslim countries of the Middle East on the India trade put forward certain proposals for its

destruction. Marino Sanuto, for one, in the early fourteenth century proposed an alliance with Tartary and Nubia, and the maintenance of a fleet in the Indian Ocean to conquer its islands and coasts, while Guillaume Adam was of the opinion that three or four galleys should be built at Hurmuz to block the Red Sea from Socotra Island, where he thought the Christian inhabitants and pirates would readily help them.

Portuguese penetration into the Indian Ocean was no chance venture, but the result of long preparation and carefully matured plans. In 1487 Pedro da Covilham was sent out to investigate the spice countries, and to discover, by overland routes, the land of Prester John. He travelled from Cairo to India and back, visiting Cannanore, Calicut, and Goa, made an excursion via Zaila' down the East African coast to Sofalah, then a second journey from Cairo to the Persian Gulf. Aden he touched at several times, as well as visiting Hurmuz and Jeddah. In 1490 he reached the court of the Negus, where he was honourably received though detained in Abyssinia for the rest of his life, but he had already sent back to his master from Cairo a full report on the trade of the Indian Ocean.

In 1497, seven years later, Vasco da Gama succeeded in rounding the Cape of Good Hope with three or four vessels; he had suffered long delays in Portugal, while detailed plans for his voyage were being devised and shipping was being fitted out for him. During the course of the following year he visited, one after another, the chief Arab settlements from Mozambique to Malindi. Thence he struck across the open sea to Calicut, returning to Lisbon by the same route in 1499.

However, before we proceed with the tale of the Portuguese adventurers in the countries they had discovered in Africa and Asia, we must glance at the political and economic situation as it stood in those lands and countries which were to be most closely affected by the intrusion of the Frank into their affairs, and more especially those countries which are the concern of our Ḥaḍramī chroniclers.

A. *The Red Sea and Indian Ocean prior to the Portuguese: a Politico-Economic Survey*

1. *The Red Sea Lands*

At its northern end, the Red Sea was controlled by the Mame-

luke Sulṭāns of Egypt and Syria, at its southern extremity by the Yemenite kings of the Banū Ṭāhir dynasty who had fallen heir to the Rasūlids; between these two powers the Sharifs of Mecca had long maintained a theocratic control over the Hejaz. In that it contains the Holy Cities, the goal of the annual pilgrimage from every quarter of the Muslim world, the Hejaz has a unique status. Relatively poor though the country is in itself, the revenues which it derives from pious gifts and bequests, from visiting pilgrims, and thereby from commerce and fairs, were of consequence. Pilgrims arriving in Mecca carried with them articles of merchandise, intending thereby to make a profit and defray some of the expenses of the journey—*ḥaḍjdj wa-ḥādjah*, 'pilgrimage and business', as the Arab says, following an age-old custom of Arabia. Supplies for the Holy Cities had to be imported from outside, as the histories assert, even before Islam, and Jeddah, the port of Mecca, lies conveniently half-way up the Red Sea. North of Jeddah navigation is hampered by reefs and shoals, so sea-going vessels stopped there, and transferred their cargoes to smaller boats bound for Suez. From Suez camels took them to Cairo, and river-boats moved them down the Nile to Alexandria, where they were purchased by the Venetians. Jeddah was a port for the Indian trade fleet in its season, and no doubt when the pilgrimage season happened to coincide with the Indian monsoon the volume of traffic would be much greater than normal. The Sharifs usually held the port of Yenbo some 300 miles north, and in the south, Ḥalī, but the southern limit of their effective influence may be taken as Djizān/Djāzān, itself of a certain economic importance. The Sharifs were Shāfi'ī, orthodox Muslims, but their theocratic rule was marked by dynastic struggles no less acute than those of secular rulers.

The Rasūlids of the Yemen and the Mamelukes had at various times contested the overlordship of the Holy Cities, but the Mamelukes had become the dominant power during the fourteenth and more especially the fifteenth centuries, maintaining a sort of political agent in the Hejaz, and a body of cavalry at Mecca. From the mid-fifteenth century the Egyptians took charge of the Jeddah customs, a portion of which was allotted to the Egyptian Pasha of that port.

As an illustration of the province's dependence on contributions from the outside world, Barakāt I (1425-53) obtained one-quarter

of the value of all wrecked ships, a quarter of all the gifts sent or brought from abroad for the people of Mecca, and one-tenth of all imported goods, including one-tenth of the cargo of all Indian ships destined for Jeddah. About half of his public income was distributed among the leading Sharīfian families.¹

The Mameluke ruler Ḳā'itbāi was a great benefactor of the Holy Cities to which he made the pilgrimage in 1495. His son supported the Sharif Barakāt II who succeeded his father in 1495, but after a stormy period of dynastic struggle, coinciding with dynastic tussles in Egypt and complicated by the policy of the local Egyptian commander which was counter to that of Cairo, Barakāt was able to establish his suzerainty about the year 1505, twelve months before the Portuguese took Socotra.

In addition to controlling Syria and the Hejaz, Mameluke power extended almost to Sawākin on the Red Sea, and Aswan on the Nile, an important stage on the ancient trade-route from the western seaboard of the Red Sea. Comparatively few in numbers, the Mamelukes through their well-organized military system, relying on slave-soldiers recruited from the Caucasus and Asia Minor (non-Arabs, of course), were able to dominate these countries. They were unpopular with the Arab inhabitants, from whom they held themselves aloof, and their rule was harsh and oppressive. Though they held the towns and country-side in a cruel grip, the marauding Bedouin who rendered travel between centres insecure could be controlled only by military force or by bribery. Mameluke extortion from merchants seems to have led to a certain decline in Cairo and Alexandria, but nevertheless Grand Cairo was a great and wealthy city, with numerous extremely affluent merchants, Arabs and Jews. In the fifteenth century Mameluke culture was at its height, and its monuments can still be seen not in Egypt and Syria alone, but also in Mecca and Medina.

Only at times has Egyptian influence or control extended to the countries of the southern end of the Red Sea, but commercial relations were always close. The term 'the Yemen' is variously applied, but at this period it is convenient to distinguish it as the territory lying to the south of that part of Arabia controlled by the Meccan Sharifs; its east is flanked by Hadramawt. The Yemen

¹ The Sharifs had among their mercenaries a large number of Arabs from southern Arabia.

itself splits naturally into the Lower and Upper Yemen. In the northern part of the last-named district was to be found the small Shī'ite Zaidī dynasty associated with Ṣan'ā', inevitably the antagonists of the Sulṭāns of the Lower Yemen and its sea-board with the ports of Luḥaiyah, Hodeida, Zabīd, Mocha, and Kamarān Island—a little to the north of which, on the African side, lie Massawa and Dahlak Island. Inland, Ta'izz is the most important centre of the Lower Yemen, and Aden was a great entrepôt, not only of the India trade, but of the commerce with the countries of the Horn of Africa and cities of the East African littoral. It was immensely strong, enjoying the advantage of an excellent harbour, and itself the southern terminus of caravan routes leading into the Yemen. Its population, estimated at between 50,000 and 60,000 souls, mainly packed into Aden Crater, was larger than in 1939. With regard to the countries of the southern Red Sea it stood in much the same relation as Cairo did to the more populous eastern Mediterranean lands. To Aden was linked economically, and often politically, Ḥaḍramawt, and its two major ports, al-Shiḥr and Zufār.

The Rasūlid dynasty developed a fairly complex and elaborate administration under which the country seems to have flourished with a brilliance hardly attained since. Ḥaḍramawt they held in political vassalage, and as has been remarked, they contested the control of the Holy Cities with the Mamelukes. Al-Maḥrīzī¹ refers to the withholding of a tributary present by the Rasūlid monarch of the Yemen in 707 H. (A.D. 1307–8), which implies a certain degree of admission of Mameluke political supremacy before that time. The organization of the court and administration bears a strong resemblance to that of Mameluke Egypt, but with markedly local Yemenite features. This was no doubt inherited by the Ṭāhirid dynasty, the heirs of the Rasūlids at the dissolution into which the anarchy of dynastic disputes caused them to founder. The reign of the last Ṭāhirid monarch is justly celebrated for his public works in the principal cities of Ṣan'ā', Zabīd, Ta'izz, and Aden, but as we shall see this dynasty collapsed at its prime.

In Ḥaḍramawt by the last half of the ninth/fifteenth century the Kathīrīs, a tribal group from Zufār, whose star was in the ascendant, had taken much of the interior of the country, but a more vital factor was that they controlled al-Shiḥr, which they appear to have

¹ Al-Maḥrīzī, *K. al-Sulūk* (Cairo, 1934–), II. i, p. 32.

held, nominally at least, as governors for the Ṭāhirids.¹ The personality who dominated the centre of the stage during the years to follow was Badr Bū Ṭuwairīk, whose reign commenced in 922 H. (A.D. 1516), the year before the Portuguese attack on Jeddah; he died in 977 H. (A.D. 1569-70), his expansionist policy coinciding with the struggles of the Portuguese and Turk. Rivals to Badr were the Mahrah tribes of Qishn, the ruling house of which also held Socotra Island. A courageous sea-faring folk, they had formed connexions with, perhaps settlements even in, East Africa and the African side of the Gulf of Aden, but they are very little known to us since they lack historians, although there are references to them in the Ḥaḍramī chroniclers.

In all the Red Sea lands the Muslim population was closely tied to Mecca, and none more so than the Saiyids and Mashāyikh of Ḥaḍramawt, the former probably regarding Sharīfian rule sympathetically. I believe Ḥaḍramī influence in East Africa was widely diffused, certainly in the sphere of religion, and probably Ḥaḍramawt provided it with merchants and mercenary troops also. Ḥaḍramī links with Gujerat and Surat were very well established, as every page in such authors as Bā Ḥārūn shows; Ḥaḍramīs also seem to have frequented Bijapur, Calicut, and other centres.

For the peoples of the western shores of the Red Sea the intrusion of the Portuguese into their affairs was vastly less disrupting than in the case of their neighbours, though as we shall see, the Portuguese arrived at a crucial moment in Abyssinian history. Commercial inter-traffic was of course well established between the peoples of both shores of the Red Sea, running in ancient grooves. Politically the Christian Abyssinians, united only in loyalty to church and king, possessed, roughly speaking, the highlands of the centre, with some Muslim Emirates acknowledging Abyssinian sovereignty but mostly enjoying internal autonomy. The Massawa district, while it seems to have been governed by Muslims, could also be influenced by the King of Abyssinia at times when he happened to be powerful. The greater part of the coast, and the entire Horn of Africa, were in Muslim hands. The religious centre of 'Zaila', port of the state of Ifāt, nowadays almost deserted, was in the most intimate touch with the Yemen and Aden, and Harar was the most powerful focus of Muslim power in the interior. The Christian Abyssinians were all but ringed off from the sea by

¹ See p. 28 *infra*.

a string of more or less independent Muslim Emirates, the most prominent of which was Adal, comprising the tribes known nowadays as Danakil. It was the movement of expansion of the Danakil and Somal which gave rise to a series of wars between the fanatical Muslims of these tribes and the equally fanatical Christians of the Abyssinian empire, itself expansionist. In 1530 and 1538 Zaila' nearly conquered Abyssinia because the Zaila' force was armed with matchlocks, and only the Portuguese landing freed Abyssinian soil.

Da Covilham's appearance in Abyssinia was the consummation of a long series of Abyssinian contacts, established at intervals with the western world of Christendom. At the opening of the sixteenth century a spell of peace between the principal contestants in Abyssinia had supervened, but nevertheless the Empress Helena when acting as regent in 1509 had sent forth an envoy to Dom Manoel I in Portugal. Da Covilham had suggested some time after the emergence of the Portuguese that it lay in Abyssinia's interest that a great naval power of the calibre of Portugal should occupy the coastal commercial centres and sever Abyssinian Muslims from communication with the rest of the Islamic world. Helena's attempt at forming an alliance with Portugal, when her initial policy of conciliation of the Muslim Emirs had failed, vitally affected the course of Abyssinian history.

II. *The East African Coast, al-Sawāḥil*

The Arab colonies strung along the African coast-line have a history receding into the remote past, long before the advent of Islam. A constant influx of Arabians, intermarrying with the coastal African population, has continued to this day to form an ever more hybrid race. At one period there was a strong movement of Persian immigrants known as Shīrāzīs—much, I suspect, in the way that Ḥaḍramī immigrants are known as Shehiris despite the fact that but few hail from al-Shiḥr itself. The medieval historian Abū Makhramah does, however, speak of certain Shīrāzīs who had intended to settle in East Africa. The part played by the Ḥaḍramīs in colonizing and civilizing East Africa is important out of all proportion to the size of their native province in Arabia.

The series of maritime city-states that flourished along al-Sawāḥil, 'the Coasts', as the Arab writers call the East African littoral, perpetually at loggerheads in the competition for political

and commercial supremacy, was by no means dissimilar to the political conditions within Ḥaḍramawt itself. The fatal conflict between Mombasa and Malindi was already an old story before the advent of the Portuguese. Though Kilwah held Sofalah in fee, none of these city-states—Mogadischo, Malindi, Mombasa, Zanzibar, or the islands of Comor and Mozambique—gained any lasting mastery over the others. Arab blood and culture grew ever thinner farther away from the coastal strip where, one can but guess, Arabic and Swahili were spoken in much the same proportion as in the nineteenth century.

Closely associated with the Arabs, the aristocracy of the coast, were the Indian residents whose acquaintance with those parts of Africa can hardly have been more recent than that of the Arabs. The Indians were neither of the ruling class, nor for the most part Muslims, but much of the ocean-going shipping was Indian-owned and Indian-manned. From the earliest days, Indians may have been the financiers, bankers, money-changers, and money-lenders, as in fact the *fatāwā*-literature shows¹ they were at Aden and other southern Arabian ports. A good deal of the very trading itself may have been in Indian hands, and direct business relations were maintained between al-Sawāhil and the western coast of India.

Secure in their fortified islands, their maritime supremacy unquestioned, the Muslims exchanged Asiatic textiles of the types, grades, and specifications we find in the *Mulakkhkhaṣ al-Fitan*,² metalwork, and beads, all of which they imported, for native produce, ivory, gold, ambergris, and slaves. To this list we must probably add timber, mangrove-poles, and certainly rice from Kilwah which was tithed at Aden when it arrived there in a ship belonging to a Sharif.³ The slave-trade was a commerce long established. The Mogadischan ships discharging at Aden paid two dīnārs per head capitation fee on slaves, sometimes more.⁴ But if it is always Mogadischo of which Arab sources speak, yet this appellation no doubt includes the shipping and commerce of the entire Swahili coast which must reach Aden from the direction of Mogadischo port. Mogadischo itself also dispatched sandarac and cowries (*kawdah*) to other countries. The urban societies of

¹ See pp. 32 ff., *infra*.

² A Yemenite fiscal survey dated A.D. 1412. Cf. p. 25 *infra*.

³ *Mulakkhkhaṣ al-Fitan*, MS. laud., fol. 21^r.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 17^v.

East Africa supported themselves then on their middleman's trade and on shipping revenues, and their cities were highly prosperous and wealthy. The Portuguese for their part were astonished to discover so high a level of civilization there—which they describe in glowing terms, remarking the contacts of Mombasa and Mogadisho with Cambaya, merchants from whence resided at Mombasa, and the fine architecture, in stone, of the Arab cities.

For the Arabs of East Africa the Christian discovery of the Cape route was a calamitous disaster, and at the close of the fifteenth century the great age of Muslim culture there was brought to a rude and abrupt close.

III. *Hurmuz and the Persian Gulf*

Hurmuz, the island key of the Persian Gulf on the other major east-west trade route, does not enter much into this book. It occupied a position which has a great many points of comparison with Aden. For two centuries the coast-line of Oman had been subject to the king of Hurmuz who held such ports as Muscat and Ḳalhāt, the latter being the seat of his chief governor on the Arab coast, and the littoral from Rās al-Ḥadd to beyond Rās Musandam, but the interior was tribally owned. Suhār and Baḥrain also formed part of his possessions. Hurmuz is a barren place, but it was immensely rich, and though it had no food, fresh water, nor any green thing, and supplies had to be imported from the Persian mainland some twelve miles distant, it had grown nearly as large as Aden—due to its immunity from raiding and its splendid harbour. It was the centre of sea-borne traffic from India, and also the overland traffic from Aleppo via Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf. At Aden the first Hurmuzī and Ḳaiṣī merchants were regularly expected after the 13th of Āb (around 1 September), and the last of them would leave about the 3rd of Ḥazīrān (approximately two-thirds of the way through June). Even in Zanzibar town, the quarter named al-Harāmizah—the Hurmuzīs—still reflects the now vanished glory of that deserted island. Its very form of government was affected by its function, since it seems that the powers of the monarch of Hurmuz were limited by a council of wealthy merchants.

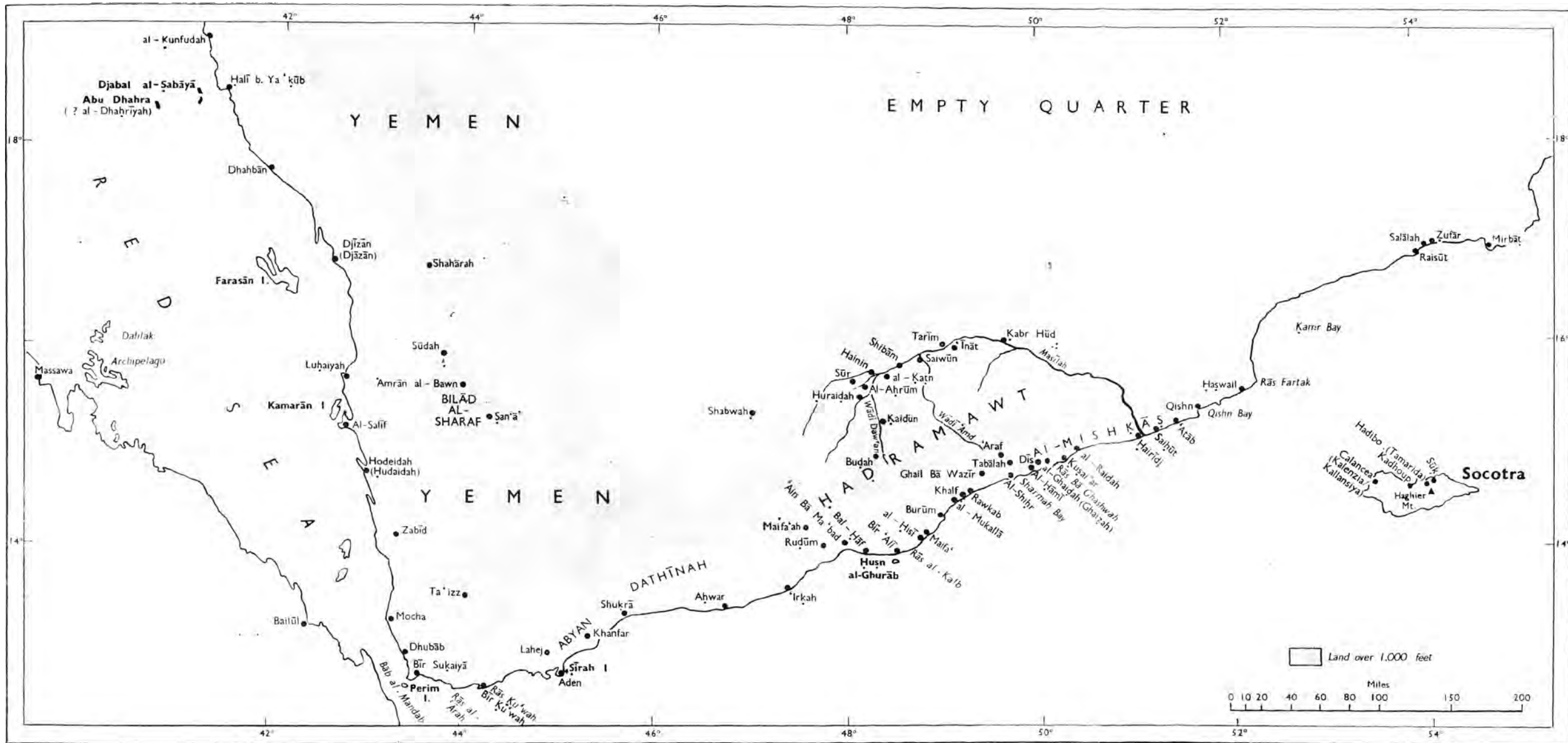
The Portuguese did not penetrate to the head of the Persian Gulf until the year 1529, and it is only with the expansion of the Ottoman Turks to the mouth of the Euphrates and adjacent

territories that Baṣrah began to take part in the naval contest with the Frank. Where the Arabian side of the Gulf is concerned, the Portuguese at first seem to have been poorly informed. Only if Arabic chronicles covering this period are found in Oman shall we be able to reconstruct the full history of the internal situation there.

IV. *Western India*

Gujarat was the first maritime state of any importance in western India. One of its ports, Diu, had at this time a large trade, and many other ports of lesser note are known to south Arabian writers, though my impression is that Diu came to their notice only in the later Middle Ages. To the south of Gujarat lay a group of Muslim states, but as only two of these possessed a coast-line (Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, which had sprung up since 1480), the Portuguese were brought into contact with them far more than the others. South of Goa to north of Cannanore the coast-line was in the hands of the large Hindu state of Vijayanagar, while south of this again came the Nair principalities of Malabar over which the Sāmūrī or Zamorin of Calicut had become the chief. His authority over Cannanore and the northern states may have been nominal, but over the southern states and Cochin his sovereignty was very real, for he would periodically displace and reinvest the Raja of Cochin. Of this rivalry between Cochin and the Sāmūrī of Calicut the Portuguese cleverly availed themselves. The fact is that when they first came to India no general combination against them by the states was possible, since Hindus and Muslims were engaged in a struggle over the kingdom of Vijayanagar, and they thought of the Portuguese merely as irritating corsairs.

On the Indian coast trade was scattered and not concentrated as it was in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, but all Red Sea merchants had their factors at Calicut, despite the fact that neither was it a good port nor had it a navigable river. The Sāmūrī encouraged Muslim traders who made Calicut their headquarters, and the wealth they brought enabled him to maintain his position in the country. Cochin was valuable to the Sāmūrī because it was there and in the southern Malabar states that pepper was produced, and Cochin had the additional advantage of being the best port linked with the pepper-producing districts. The Muslims not only largely monopolized sea-borne traffic in the Indian Ocean, but in southern India they also distributed the merchandise they brought, to the



MAP 1. South-West Arabia. Yemen and Hadramawt, the Red Sea, Gulf of Aden, and Socotra Island

consumer. These 'Moors', as the Portuguese dubbed them, were keen traders but never attempted to acquire political independence save when it was essential for the conservation of their own community, and on the Indian coast they accepted the settled polity they found there. Probably the natural sympathies of the Hindus lay with the Muslim traders they had known for centuries, and not with the Portuguese interlopers, whose lack of understanding of Indian conditions and religion led them into offending people, and whose overbearing manners did not endear them.

A sketch of the momentous events resulting from the incursion of the Portuguese into the Indian Ocean and the ensuing rapid expansion of their power and influence at sea, with the novel situations created thereby, is essential that we may understand the attitude and views of the history in these troubled times as it was seen from Arabian shores. At first we find Hadramī writers allotting the Portuguese only the curtest of notices until their attack on the Muslim world gained its momentum, for what happened in India closely affected the lives of those living on the coasts of Arabia. Soon, however, the threat of Portuguese raids became an ever-present preoccupation with the coast-dwellers.

B. The Portuguese in the Indian Ocean: an Outline of Events of the Tenth/sixteenth Century relevant to the Hadramī Chronicles

It was on 8 July 1497 that Vasco da Gama set sail from Portugal on his celebrated voyage. He rounded the Cape, and during the next year visited the chief Arab colonies from Mozambique up to Malindi. During this initial reconnaissance the part he played was that of a friendly stranger, and at Mozambique, first of the four African ports he entered, the Arabs were outwardly friendly enough for the Shaikh of the place to pay a courtesy visit to Da Gama's flagship. On realizing, however, that the Portuguese were not only infidels but would-be interlopers in the Indian trade, their attitude swiftly changed. At Kilwah, suzerain of Mozambique, and at Mombasa, her ally, when news of the strangers arrived ahead of them, there was uneasy tension. On the other hand at Malindi, a bitter and inveterate rival to Mombasa, and ever ready to treat her foes as friends, the 'King' and Da Gama came

to a friendly agreement. Nevertheless at this stage none of the Arab city-states envisaged danger to their monopoly of trade, wealth, and power.

From Malindi, Da Gama struck across the open sea to Calicut, and in 1499 he returned to Lisbon by the same route as he had come.

On his second voyage to India in 1502 Da Gama compelled wealthy Kilwah to pay him an annual tribute. In the following year Zanzibar had to follow suit. Greater disasters were to follow. In 1505 Almeida with a large fleet and 1,500 men sailed from Lisbon under orders to plant military settlements at some six strategic and commercial points stretching from Africa to India. Sofalah, Kilwah, and Mombasa fell before his arms. In 1506 Tristão da Cunha and the great Albuquerque dealt drastically with the northern ports of Lamu, Oja, and Barawa, then pressed onwards to Socotra Island which they took in 1507.

By 1509, less than ten years from its discovery, the coast of East Africa had been subjugated, and the chief Arab colonies and settlements from Sofalah in the south to Barawa in the north, together with the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Mafia, had either accepted tributary vassaldom to the Portuguese, or were utterly broken in wealth and power. So hunted was Arab shipping that even the country coastal craft had to steal from creek to creek. The Portuguese had three official stations, at Kilwah, Mozambique, and Sofalah. Privileged Malindi, as Portugal's ally, and subject towns like Mombasa, Zanzibar, and Lamu, were permitted to retain their Sulṭāns or Shaikhs, but their importance had withered, for the Portuguese had assumed the Arab role as middlemen and traders. The whole unhappy train of calamities must have been well known to maritime Arabia, the inhabitants of which had numerous blood relations settled or resident there.

To return, however, to Da Gama: when he touched at Indian soil near Calicut on 17 May 1498 he was by no means badly received by the Sāmūrī, but ignorance and misunderstanding by both parties soon engendered an attitude of mutual suspicion. The second Portuguese expedition to India in 1500 went farther and blundered into irreparable dispute with the Sāmūrī, though this was offset by the friendly relations established with Cochin, and here a fortress was constructed by Albuquerque in 1503. After this the Portuguese had no longer any interest in healing the breach with the Sāmūrī.

Following upon Da Gama's second expedition of 1502, the Portuguese made the important policy decision that they would block the Red Sea to Muslim shipping. In April 1507 Socotra Island was captured by Albuquerque, as has been seen, the Portuguese contemplating the use of the island as a depot from which they could stop the entrance into the Gulf of Aden. In August of the same year Albuquerque left Socotra for Hurmuz, intent on cutting the other main artery of the India trade via the Persian Gulf. On his way he attacked the sea-ports of the Hurmuz kingdom such as Karyat, Muscat, and Khawr Fakkān, sacking and burning them, and committing the added atrocity of mutilating defenceless prisoners. Through internal dissensions in his own forces, however, he was unable to complete the task of reducing Hurmuz to final submission until his second expedition of 1515.

All this time the Portuguese had been busy establishing themselves in India, with Cochin as their main base, and their meddling with the stream of commerce from India to Egypt had already begun to have severe and far-reaching financial repercussions in that country, quickly noticed in the fall in customs revenue. Concerted action was agreed upon by Kānṣūh al-Ghawrī the Mameluke Sultān of Egypt, by Maḥmūd Begarha, Sultān of Gujerat, with other local Muslim rulers, and the Hindu Sāmuri of Calicut, in that a fleet should be equipped at Suez and dispatched to India. There it was to be reinforced by local squadrons and attack the Portuguese. The Sultān of Gujerat had appealed to Egypt especially for cannon to help repel the Franks. Even the Yemen had asked Egypt for assistance. As a result of this diplomatic activity a Mameluke expedition under the leadership of Ḥusain al-Kurdī set out to assail the Portuguese at sea. Before leaving Jeddah he invested it with a strong rampart.¹ Ḥusain put the Portuguese vessels to flight at a naval engagement at Chaul south of Bombay in 1508, but he, in his turn, suffered a reverse at Diu in 1509, and escaped to Jeddah, where he recommenced strengthening the fortifications.

In November 1509 Albuquerque became governor of the Portuguese settlements and factories in western India. His ambition was to found a great Portuguese empire in the east, and this he sought to realize by a policy of establishing impregnable fortresses at Aden, Diu, Hurmuz, and Goa, with a series of

¹ See Appendix VI, p. 160.

factories and small forts at Cochin, Cannanore, and Quilon. He did not mean merely to protect trade on shore, but by means of his forts he intended to dominate the native rulers, consolidate his strength, and force them to acknowledge Portugal as suzerain. The seat and headquarters of Portuguese government in India he wished to transfer to Goa, and one of his earliest actions was to seize and fortify it in 1510. Goa was superior to Cochin in that its food-supply was abundant, it was the chief port of India for the Deccan, for Vijayanagar, and for Europe; moreover, it gave the Portuguese a foothold in India while destroying the dockyard of the 'Moors'.

Having received orders from Dom Manoel to endeavour to capture Aden and penetrate into the Red Sea, Albuquerque set sail from Goa in February 1513. Aden, being well fortified, had become prosperous as a refuge for Muslim traders, from Portuguese warships, and had risen notably in importance as an entrepôt for the transhipment of Indian goods. The Portuguese had now learnt that Aden, not Socotra, was the gate to the Red Sea, and by holding it they could throttle the movement of Red Sea traders who still evaded the India blockade in large numbers. So Albuquerque planned to occupy strategic points for the control of commerce, to explore the shores as yet untouched by the Portuguese fleet, to harry and destroy any preparations Egypt might have in hand for a new invasion of India; he hoped further to open up communications with Prester John, a semi-mythical figure to the Portuguese, upon whose aid their hopes were fixed.

In the event Albuquerque's attack on Aden failed, as al-Shihri and other Arab authors have related;¹ nor did he even reach so far as Jeddah. With their high hopes of conquest dashed, the Portuguese returned to India in the same year.

Meanwhile troubles had been brewing in the Arab countries of the Mediterranean, and the Mamelukes seem to have decided that it was imperative to conquer the Yemen, perhaps as a retreat if they should be vanquished by the growing might of the Ottoman Turks, and almost certainly with a view to using it as a base from which to counter the Portuguese menace, economic and political. Mameluke troops under Salmān al-Rūmī and Ḥusain Turkī arrived at Kamarān in 1515. As 'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb the last of the Tāhirids refused to provision his troops, Ḥusain decided to

attack him, being supported herein by the Zaidis of the mountains who promised supplies and horses. Husain took Zabīd in 1516, which he looted, and 'Āmir fled to Ta'izz. Leaving lieutenants to reduce the neighbouring provinces, Husain sailed down to Aden, the lords of the coastal towns hastening to surrender with appropriate *douceurs* in the form of large sums of money. Aden successfully withstood the Mameluke bombardment, however, and the Egyptians retired, leaving a reputation for cruelty and rapacity behind them.

There now befell that decisive turn in affairs which was to affect, for the most part adversely, the history of the Arabic-speaking countries for four centuries to come. Salim I, the Ottoman Sultān of Turkey, defeated the Mamelukes and conquered Egypt. The Ottomans took over naval operations in the Red Sea, and their men-of-war from the Suez base operated around the Arabian Peninsula, sovereignty over which the Ottoman Sultāns claimed as successors to the Caliphate. Later they also operated in the Persian Gulf, which they had reached overland during the conquest of Mesopotamia in 1536. They were now to endeavour to contest Portuguese sea-power in the Indian Ocean.

Salim proclaimed the Hejaz part of his empire, and Barakāt II sent his son Abū Numaiy to pay him homage. He was confirmed in his lordship of the Holy Cities, recognizing the supremacy of the Ottoman Sultān in whose name the *khutbah* was read. Such Mamelukes at Jeddah as escaped local vengeance for their cruelty and exactions, fled to join the Mameluke forces at Zabīd and Ta'izz of the Yemen. Eventually these troops recognized the Ottoman Sultān of Turkey, and a Turkish Pasha was installed there.

When the Ottoman representative, Husain al-Rūmī, arrived he found at Jeddah a large number of well-armed ships and a well-stocked arsenal left behind by the Mamelukes.

In this same year, 1517, Lopo Soares, the ineffectual successor to Albuquerque, mounted a new expedition to the Red Sea. He arrived before Aden at a most opportune moment, when in its weakened and demoralized state it could have fallen ripely into his hands, but neglecting to seize it until he should return, the Portuguese captain sailed on to Jeddah. There he accomplished nothing, but retired on Kamarān where in three disastrous months a great part of his force died. In July 1517 he burnt Zaila', but now he found Aden strong enough to resist him and withdrew to India.

The burning of Zaila¹ indeed seems to have been the only action of positive value to the Portuguese in this expedition, for this port was the seat of Maḥfūz, governor of Adal, who had been incited by missionaries from Arabia to proclaim the *djihād* and raid into Abyssinian territory. He was defeated and slain, and with the loss of Zaila¹ the Muslim threat to Abyssinia was eliminated for the time. The Portuguese burnt Berbera in the next year.

Henceforth Portuguese expeditions to the Red Sea were sent primarily to investigate or spoil Turkish naval preparations to contest with them the mastery of the Indian Ocean. By the time the Turks arrived on the scene, the Portuguese were already firmly settled in strong strategic points there. In the pages of al-Shihri it is the naval and diplomatic moves of the Turks that henceforth dominate the picture, but the Arabs are constantly exposed to the unceasing harassment of the piratical sallies of small numbers of Portuguese vessels. Lopo Soares when he succeeded Albuquerque had reversed his policy, and granted permission to all Portuguese to engage in trade, as a consequence of which the seas were filled with traders, so called, but really pirates, and no ship was safe from them whether she was friend or foe, or even if she bore a Portuguese safe-conduct.

The Red Sea expedition of 1520 under Diogo Lopes de Sequeira is interesting to us only because he landed an envoy to the Negus at Massawa. This mission caused apprehensions among the Ottoman Turks, so as a counter-measure they occupied Sawākin and Zaila¹. Aided by the Catalan rivals of the Portuguese, who supplied them with arms, the Muslims were building up a fleet in this port.

In 1530 the headquarters of the Portuguese governor were moved from Cochin to Goa, which now became in name, as it had been in reality ever since its capture, the capital of Portuguese India. This was effected so as to be closer to Diu, which the Europeans had long eyed covetously. Siege was laid to Diu in 1531, but it was not destined to fall to Portuguese arms on this occasion. A Turkish fleet under Muṣṭafā Bairam and Şafar, after one or two false starts, had issued forth from the Arabian coast and slipped into Diu before the Portuguese assault. Muṣṭafā Bairam preserved Diu from capture, and his part therein was recognized by the grateful Sulṭān of Gujerat Bahādur Shāh, as also he acknowledged the valour of Şafar, by conferment of titles, and both of these soldiers took service with him.

Bahādur Shāh's fortunes now had to face the wrath of the Mogul Humāyūn whom he had needlessly aggravated and insulted, and he was driven back to take refuge in Diu. He appealed to Nunho da Cunha, the governor of Portuguese India, and, in return for a promise of aid, ceded him Bassein port in 1534-5 and, an even greater folly, granted him permission to build a fort at Diu in 1536. The story of his death by drowning, through his own rash impetuosity, is related by al-Shihri.

The second Turkish naval expedition under one of Sultān Salīm's slaves, Sulaimān al-Khādim, in 1538 is notorious for its leader's unscrupulous treatment of his allies and co-religionists. Staying in Jeddah and the Hejaz during the pilgrimage season his men committed many excesses, and they showed scant respect for the Holy Places. Aden, which he entered by treachery, he looted, and he hanged there the Lord of the city. Through Sulaimān's cowardice the combined attempt of the Gujeratis and Turks to wrest Diu from the Christians was frustrated, and the whole attempt was a fiasco. The Arabic writers give some interesting details on the way in which Şafar, suspicious of Turkish designs on Diu, tricked Sulaimān into deserting his Gujerati allies.

The last big Portuguese expedition to the Red Sea was that of Estevão da Gama, the son of Vasco, who in 1541 sailed from Goa for Suez. At Massawa the fleet landed 400 soldiers under another son of Vasco, Cristovão, to reinforce the Negus in his struggle against Aḥmad Grāñ.

This Aḥmad Grāñ had married the daughter of Maḥfūz of Zailā', and by eliminating his rivals had built up his own power. From 1529 onwards his career of conquest had brought him a great part of Abyssinia, and he had penetrated along the coast and lowlands as far in the north-west as Kasala. In desperation the Negus, Lebna Dengel, sent in 1535 a member of the former Portuguese mission to ask the King of Portugal for succour. The Portuguese contingent arrived when Galāwdēwos had succeeded his father as Negus. Aḥmad Grāñ was defeated and wounded by a combined force of Abyssinians and Portuguese, and with difficulty escaped to the Zabul mountains overlooking the Dankali plain. He sent a request to the Pasha of Zabīd for reinforcements of musketeers who brought with them ten cannon. In an engagement at Wofla, Cristovão da Gama was captured and beheaded, and the Portuguese lost badly. Aḥmad Grāñ, as our chronicler shows,

seems to have found the Turks awkward guests, and returned them to Zabīd, but his anticipation of the collapse of his foes was premature. In 1542 the Abyssinians and Portuguese fought a decisive battle with the Muslims at Lake Tana at which Imām Aḥmad Grāñ met his death, and the reconquest of Christian territory proceeded without effective opposition. The Abyssinian adventure may only have been a 'side-show' for the Portuguese, but it preserved Christian Ethiopia from destruction at the hands of the nomadic coastal tribes. The naval part of the Portuguese mission achieved nothing beyond alarming the Turkish fleet at Suez.

Only at one brief moment after this could the Portuguese have occupied Aden. In 1547 the Arab chief 'Alī Sulaimān al-Tawlaḳī seized it from the Turks and immediately looking round for an ally proposed that the Portuguese should land and combine with him, but this fleeting chance was lost through the pusillanimity of the Portuguese captain. The Turks lost no time in taking counter-action, so that when a force dispatched from India to occupy Aden arrived it was already six days too late.

From this date the Ḥaḍramī chroniclers have little to say of either Portuguese or Turkish naval activities. Piri Ra'īs, who receives a brief notice or two, occupied Aden in 1547 and Muscat in 1551. When appointed admiral to the Ottoman fleet in Egypt he was an expert navigator and a scholar. Sīdī 'Alī Ra'īs in 1554 was put in command of the fleet which had been abandoned in Baṣrah by Piri Ra'īs. When he tried to conduct the fleet back to Egypt, the ships were attacked near Hurmuz by Portuguese war-ships, and later scattered by a terrific storm that drove his ship against the shore near Gujerat. There he remained nearly a year, and from Arabic sources compiled a survey of navigation in the Indian Ocean known as *Muḥīt*, and when he had returned home, an account of his adventures called *Mir'āt al-Mamālik*.¹

The last reference of al-Shiḥrī to Turco-Portuguese affairs is his report of a raid on Muscat which he attributes to Sinān Pasha who was in charge of the Yemen, though actually it was carried out by 'Alī Bey.

Toward the close of the sixteenth century other circumstances had arisen in eastern waters, through the arrival of Dutch and English shipping, and the Portuguese monopoly of trade with the

¹ Cf. Tietze and Kahane, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant* (Urbana, 1958) pp. 22 ff.

Indian Ocean was over. The extracts from the Yemenite chronicler describing the freebooting Dutch corsairs off Mocha in the latter part of the seventeenth century, which follow the notices on the Portuguese in this volume, belong to an entirely different age in point of outlook as well as of time.¹

¹ This introductory survey has been based on standard sources in English.

SOUTH-WEST ARABIA HISTORICAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

1. *Coast, sea, and people*

THESE adventures of Portuguese and Arab bring back vividly days at sea along the coasts of Aden and al-Mukallā. The poop of the dhow is sheltered by a tattered awning from the direct rays of the sun which is reflected in the bright sea. Passengers recline on their charpoys—conversing, praying at the duly appointed times, preparing their food, and, let it frankly be said, performing their natural functions in the little box over the side—in sight of the company, but decently enough withal. Stretched out on his own charpoy near the helm, the *nākhūdhā*, the captain, keeps a weather eye on the ship's way, and members of the crew come for instructions or to report. With a word from the *nākhūdhā* now and then, the helmsman keeps the ship on her course. In fair weather the voyage passes like a dream.

Nākhūdhā and mate are men of no mean intelligence. They have a lore, even a patois of their own; had the works of the Ḥaḍramī navigators Ibn Mādjid and Sulaimān al-Mahrī been with me, I believe they would have been as clear to the *nākhūdhā* as though written yesterday, for sea-lore is still embodied in poems known to such men as he. Nor do the knowledge of the stars, the computation of seasons, winds, currents, anchorages, change over the four centuries that separate the wise captains of an older time from the present day. Much is to be learnt from the *nākhūdhās*, and what I have recorded, at their dictation, in my field-books is but a little of their science.

The dhow trade itself, on the contrary, is threatened with diminution, if not virtual extinction; the longer voyages are hardly likely to continue. In Zanzibar in early 1957 the sea-faring folk said to me that they had never known a poorer season, for the Kuwaitis now find easier employment with the oil company than the hard lot of the sailor, strenuous and dangerous, so faithfully described by Alan Villiers.¹ This is an age of tremendous change—in Aden the dhow-yards of al-Ma'allā foreshore, reputed

¹ *Sons of Sindbad* (London-New York, 1940).

ancient,¹ have been removed to a small corner since the recent reclamation of the sea-front there; al-Shiḥr is much decayed from its former importance, though a few dhows are always being built at al-Mukallā. On passing through Jeddah in 1954, I saw with regret that the town walls of this famous port had been entirely removed.

The physical setting of these scenes of clash between Arab, Portuguese, and Turk are not unknown to me, for with the exception of the Aḥwar-ʿIrqah stretch, I have travelled, not always without pain, the coast from Bīr Suḳaiyā to al-Hāmī on camel, on foot, or by truck, and have had the opportunity of seeing the whole coast from the air. At Suḳaiyā I have eaten with the villagers, have seen shark taken at Bīr Kuʿwah, talked with the fishermen when stationed at Khawr al-ʿUmairah, watched gypsum loaded on board from sambooks at al-Ḥisī, slept in the Beau-Geste fort at Bal-Ḥāf, lain becalmed off the islands west of Bīr ʿAlī, compiled lists of fish-names with the headman of Burūm, and explored a little of al-Shiḥr and al-Hāmī.

Nowadays these are peaceful places, but in the Middle Ages life was not without its hazards for those who won their livelihood from the sea, hazards in the shape of pirates and violent men. Nor was the coastal Arab averse to a little piracy on his own account, and, in quite recent years, at least two yachts stranded on the coast have been plundered by the local people. Yet, in the medieval period, trade was well developed, and the trade routes at least reasonably safe for merchant shipping which thronged this greatest maritime highway. Incidental allusions in Yemeni books to shipping and the sea, and, for example, the existence of marine almanacs and *routiers*, all point to the prominent part it played in the life of the country. In Aden a special tax was levied to protect merchant shipping from pirates² which, we know, was still taken in 1412, and undoubtedly at later times also.

Into this familiar well-organized world of ocean dhows, appearing at their regular seasons from all parts of East Africa, the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and India, of country coastal traffic carried on

¹ A statement not to be accepted without investigation; early prints show dhow-building on the foreshore of Aden town.

² Abū Makhramah, edit. O. Löfgren, *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter* (Leipzig-Uppsala, 1936-50), I, 61, tithes spent on maintaining warships. There were Indian pirates at Socotra as early as Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (Paris, 1861-77), iii. 38, *bawāridj al-Hind*.

in local craft, and of fishermen—all of it subject to the exactions of tribal rulers who held and enjoyed the revenues of the ports, there came the sudden intrusion of the Portuguese, infidels and aggressors, which in turn brought down the Mameluke and the Turk. Portuguese and Turk were both unwelcome new-comers to the southern extremity of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden; those who lived by the sea were exposed, and at the mercy of their fleets, so that, as is known, the coastal trade of centuries suffered severe dislocation. Not even the poverty of the people preserved them from the Portuguese, for they were impressed as pilots, or perhaps kidnapped to be sold as slaves in markets remote from their homes. Though able to give good account of themselves in fisher disputes, the fisher inhabitants of the coast are not fighting men of the professional fighting tribal class. As has been said, they paid their taxes to the tribesmen as they do now, and I have seen a document from Aḥwar which mentions just such dues, 'ashā fi 'l-barr wa-'l-baḥr, 'a levy (lit. supper) on the (produce) of land and sea'. Tribesmen and fishermen alike were to be confronted with the muskets and cannon of the Portuguese, frightening and noisy weapons, formerly utterly unknown to them.

While the Portuguese learned more than a little of navigation in the Indian Ocean¹ from pilots of the calibre of Ibn Mādjid and others, it seems that the Arabs in their turn learned from them too, for Ibn Mādjid² alludes to the Franks in several places, and adds that they increased the Arab knowledge of that part of Africa lying south of the limit of Arab voyaging:³

Wa-zāda-nā bi-'ilmi-na 'l-Farandjī⁴

Wa-sāra yaḥkum-hum bi-dhāka anhudjī.

The Frank has added to our knowledge (of it),

And thereby [a route] easier to recognize has begun to govern them.

¹ See p. 174 and C. F. Beckingham, 'Some Early Travels in Arabia', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London, 1949), pp. 155-76, which may be consulted conveniently for early European knowledge of Arabia.

² T. A. Shumovsky, *Tri Neizvestnye Lotsii Akhmadāe Ibn Mādžlūda, Arab-skogo Lotsmana Vasco da-Gama*, Akademiya Nauk SSSR. Institut Vostokovedeniya (Moscow, 1957), Ar. text, fols. 95^r, and especially 96^r.

³ *Ibid.*, fol. 93^r, line 24.

⁴ Ibn Mādjid specifically refers to them by the name Burtukālīyūn also. Cf. Gabriel Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais* (Paris, 1921-8, iii. 185 and i, fol. 100b, for an account of the Portuguese route via the Cape, and *Al-Sanā'al-Bāhir*, Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 16648, fol. 171a, under the year 901 H.

A most curious tale is related by Ibn ʿĪyās¹ which reveals the ignorance of the Egyptians of the nature of the Portuguese exploit in circumnavigating the Cape, for therein it is stated that the Franks had broken the wall (*sudd*) which Alexander had set up in ancient time.

II. *Al-Shiḥr in the Portuguese period*

Next to Aden, al-Shiḥr was the most important city and port of the South Arabian coast. For a strong Sulṭān in Aden it was always advantageous financially to impose himself on al-Shiḥr from the sea, sufficiently to tap its revenues, although it can have been of little profit to try to conquer the interior; so, from time to time, al-Shiḥr passed under control of the rulers of Aden to the extent of paying them tribute. The *Mulakhkhaṣ al-Fitan*² registers a list of articles sent to the Rasūlid Sulṭāns as a sort of levy in kind: ambergris, camphor, pearls, Indian dancing-girls, and civet cats, truly a charming combination!

The Kathīrī Sulṭāns, whose descendants to this day still rule in Saiwūn, had conquered much of Ḥaḍramawt from the direction of the east, for it seems they hailed originally from Zūfār. Since 867 H. (A.D. 1462–3) they had been in possession of al-Shiḥr, after capturing it from the Tāhirids.³ As I have shown elsewhere,⁴ al-Shiḥr was the point from which people made the pilgrimage to the tomb of Hūd at the annual *ziyārah*-visitation and fair. Apart from its business as an emporium for the India trade, it was the port from which Ḥaḍramīs emigrated to India and East Africa, whence the tribesman went abroad to engage as a mercenary, and the scholar sailed to Surat, Zaila⁵, Mogadisho, Lamu, and numerous other places in the Far East, as well as Africa.⁵ The connexion with Africa was close enough for news to travel freely, and many a family had one or more branches in those parts.

Van den Broeke,⁶ though somewhat later than the period covered

¹ P. Kahle and M. Mustafa, *Die Chronik des Ibn ʿĪyās* (Istanbul–Leipzig, 1931–), v. 109.

² Claude Cahen and R. B. Serjeant, 'A Fiscal Survey of the Medieval Yemen', *Arabica* (Leiden, 1957), iv. i. 22–33, MS. fol. 17^r.

³ Muh. b. Ḥashim, *Tārīkh al-Dawlat al-Kathīrīyah* (Cairo, 1948), p. 25.

⁴ 'Hūd and other Pre-Islamic Prophets of Ḥaḍramawt', *Le Muséon* (Louvain, 1954), lxxvii, pp. 122–4.

⁵ See Note A, p. 167.

⁶ In *Recueil des voyages* (Rouen, 1725), vii. 440.

by Bā Faḫīh al-Shiḥrī, has given an excellent description of the town which actually might almost have been written today:

La Ville de Chihiri dans l'Arabie Heureuse, est par les 14. degrés 50. minutes de latitude Nord, située sur un sable aride au bord d'une grande baie, où l'on ancre à portée de petit canon de la Ville, sur huit brasses, fond de bonne tenuë. Elle est fort grande par la distance des maisons; éloignées les unes des autres. Elles sont bâties d'argile, et enduites de chaux par dehors. Il y a un château avec quatre tours ronds, bon pour se garantir d'une course, mais qui ne peut soutenir le canon. Il y a 3. ou 4. mosquées. C'est le principal Port que le Roi aie.

Ce Prince tient sa Cour, la plûpart du tems à Hadermuid, Ville dans les terres à une journée de Chihiri. Il se nomme Sultan Abdulla, issu — lui et ses sujets des vrais Arabes. Il paie tous les ans entre les mains du Bacha Vice-roi du Grand Seigneur, un tribut de 4000 réales de huit et de 20 livres de bon ambre gris.

Al-Shiḥr lies on a flat sandy beach, today also covering a considerable area, much of which, however, consists of decaying or half-decayed houses set widely apart. The sea front is simply the long flat beach, but vessels must lie a little way out because of the shallow water inshore. Today the beach is not walled off from the town, and even at this period there was perhaps no shore-wall—in some ways such a wall would not be a practical proposition, so tied are the Shiḥrīs by their livelihood as fishermen and sailors to the sea that it would be inconvenient. Serious attack till this time was probably only to be anticipated from the landward side. Today the eastern and western ends of the wall project right into the sea, terminating in a masonry construction, but it runs but a few yards inland before it becomes a clay wall ringing the town, pierced here and there by gates, adequate enough to repel attacks of tribesmen unsupported by artillery. The stone terminals which might possibly have been there in the sixteenth century, though the town has grown, would prevent outflanking and protect shipping beached on the strand. Commander Haines, however, shows no wall at all in his early-nineteenth-century plan of al-Shiḥr, which appears on Admiralty charts.

The town internally is divided into quarters (*ḥāfah*) of which I shall have more to say elsewhere,¹ and the castle described by Van den Broeke—of typical 'Yāfi'i' pattern with four round corner

¹ The organization and disputes of these quarters have figured in the local press. I have a new collection of documents defining their rights.

towers—is probably Ḥuṣn bin ‘Aiyāsh, the present-day prison. In the ruin-field of this area we found, in great profusion, potsherds of the types described already from the Aden area,¹ celadon, Persian pottery of many varieties, and other Near and Far Eastern wares, mostly of the late medieval period. The houses themselves are of a distinctively local pattern with yards for gear in front of them.

III. *Kathīrī Policy vis-à-vis Portuguese and Turk*

The vulnerability of al-Shiḥr from the sea was the Achilles' heel of the Kathīrī Sulṭāns. At the same time it was their most important and surest source of revenue with which they could pay their mercenaries and subsidize their tribal allies.² It was not of course their only port on the Ḥaḍramī coast, and it is true that Zūfār, the centre of the horse-trade to India, belonged to the Āl Kathīr, but it seems to have been more or less independent of control by the Sulṭāns of al-Shiḥr.³ Al-Shiḥr also was strategically important to the Kathīrīs as the terminus of the road to the lower Wādī Ḥaḍramawt where they first made their conquests, an area not then ruined as it is today.

Van den Broeke, as we have seen, states that there is a good anchorage at al-Shiḥr, about a falconet shot from land. From this one infers that the port would be open to bombardment from the sea, as seems in fact to have happened in the year 938 H. (A.D. 1531–2). From lack of artillery, the town seems to have been impotent to protect shipping lying in al-Shiḥr roads; Bā Faḳīh says, *en passant* (p. 67), that the Portuguese sea marauders plundered the vessels in the port, *as was their custom*. The Kathīrī Sulṭān ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Umar Bū Ṭuwairīḳ is quoted by Van den Broeke⁴ as expressing his fears of a violation of the roadstead in the year A.D. 1614 (1022–3 H.). It was a sign of the times, too, that the

¹ Arthur Lane and R. B. Serjeant, 'Pottery and Glass Fragments from the Aden Littoral, with Historical Notes', *J.R.A.S.* (London, 1948), pp. 108–33.

² A fragment, badly wormed, of Bā Sandjalāh (for whom see pp. 38–39 *infra*), without evidence of dating, but perhaps to be placed round about 930 H. (A.D. 1523–4), says: 'In this year befell the appearance of the Frank against Zūfār, and the people of Zūfār went out with the *khizānah* [treasure-chest?] of the Sulṭān Badr b. ‘Abdullāh to al-Shiḥr, and the Franks fought with them [? *hāradū-hum*]’ It does seem that they entered Zūfār.

³ See Note B, p. 167.

⁴ C. F. Beckingham, 'Dutch Travellers in the Seventeenth Century', *J.R.A.S.* (London, 1951), i. 64–81 and ii. 170–81.

people of Burūm withdrew to a village removed from the coast,¹ and that the town of old al-Ḥāmī lies in a defensible gorge (p. 172). The former, we know, was frequently attacked by the Portuguese—it may be that al-Ḥāmī was sited there for this reason.

Al-Shiḥr must be preserved from harm at all costs. It is in this light that we must consider the Kathīrī policy of temporizing with the Portuguese and Turks. Tacitly even Bā Faḫīh recognizes the necessity of temporizing with the infidel, though he does quote ‘Abdullāh Bā Makhramah as condemning such policy on the part of the Lord of Aden.²

Badr Bū Ṭuwairiḳ was forced to become a vassal of the Ottomans. Nor is it entirely insignificant that he is described by the compiler of the epitome of Bā Makhramah’s *Fatāwā* as Sulṭān Badr b. ‘Abdullāh, the Wālī of al-Shiḥr,³ i.e. governor. Al-Shiḥr was the most important of his possessions and he is described by it, just as the Ḳu‘aitī Sulṭāns are described today as Sulṭāns of al-Shiḥr wa-’l-Mukallā. From my recollection of manuscript sources I doubt if Badr was the first Ḥaḍramī Sulṭān, of the Āl-Kathīr or previous dynasties, to bear the title Wālī, which appears sometimes to be used by writers instead of Sulṭān, implying perhaps at least nominal submission to Aden.⁴

In 945 H. (A.D. 1538–9) we learn that the Turkish Bāshā Sulaimān al-Ṭawāshī imposed a yearly levy of 10,000 ashrafīs on al-Shiḥr (p. 96); as late as Van den Broeke’s time tribute was still being paid to the Ottomans. *Al-Nūr al-Sāfir*⁵ makes an oblique reference to the rapacity of the Turks, but even allowing that they took a substantial proportion of the total revenue of al-Shiḥr, the income from the port must still have been considerable to admit of Badr’s pursuing his campaigns in Ḥaḍramawt. The Turkish demand was

¹ See Note C, p. 167.

² *Infra*, p. 55, but he was of course a Turcophil.

³ The author of the *Fatāwā* is ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abdullāh b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm Makhramah al-Saibānī al-Djūhī, whose biography will be found *infra* (p. 168). His two *Fatāwā* collections, *al-Fatāwā al-‘Adaniyah* and *al-Fatāwā al-Ḥaḍjarāniyah* (my conjectural vocalization), have been epitomized, and a photograph of the Mukallā MS. is now in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies. It was probably the collection called *al-Fatāwā al-‘Adaniyah* that I saw in Mūdiyyah, or at least a single volume of it. Both the latter volume and the epitome are quoted frequently in the course of this monograph.

⁴ A work of Bā Djamāl known as *Makāl al-Nāṣihīn* from Ḥaḍramawt (Saiwūn MS.) calls Sulṭān Badr b. Muḥammad al-Kathīrī (*ob.* 915 H.) ‘al-wālī’.

⁵ *Al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 77.

probably based on the sums known to have been paid to former overlords—which indeed are actually registered in the *Mulakhkhaṣ al-Fitan*.¹ This authority also informs us that ambergris was sent to the Rasūlids, as, during the period under review, to the Turks. For comparison we may quote Captain Saris, who in 1611 found that the Grand Signior's customs of Mocha amounted to 1,500,000 Chicquems (sequins) which, rated at 5s. sterling apiece, is £37,500.²

Naturally enough neither the Kathirīs nor their enemies the Mahrī Sultāns of Qishn lost any opportunity of turning to their own advantage, whenever possible, the rivalry of the two great naval powers of the Indian Ocean. Badr Bū Ṭuwairīk made use of Portuguese musketeers to extend his conquests and to back up his uncertain authority in Western Ḥaḍramawt in 945 H. (A.D. 1538-9); at other times he had the assistance of Turks in his wars.

To this very day, Badr Bū Ṭuwairīk's anti-Mahrah campaigns are not forgotten by popular memory in that the Bin 'Afrār of Qishn are possessed of a tale that he annihilated all the males of the family but one child, as yet unborn, whose mother was concealed by the Bait Zuwaidī, later to play a prominent part in Mahrah fortunes.³ Of recent years American oil-prospecting parties have found at Raisūt, which is now in Omani territory, what they believed to be a Portuguese fort, in the interior of which sherds of Portuguese pottery have been discovered. The existence of such a fort is not chronicled by any Ḥaḍramī author known to me, but the ground plan seems quite unlike that of South Arabian forts. The ascription to the Portuguese is dubious.

Badr's conquests are without parallel in known Ḥaḍramī history of the Islāmic era. His initial success may have been attributable to his possession of fire-arms and guns, though one infers that the people of al-Aḥrūm had some muskets—or the Portuguese captain would not have received a bullet-wound. It is stated by all Yemeni historians that the Ṭāhirid monarch 'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb was defeated by the fire-arms of the Mameluke forces which, till then, had been unknown in southern Arabia.

¹ MS. fol. 17r.

² *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, i. 334 ff. Baldaeus, 'Description of . . . East India Coasts', in *Churchill's Voyages* (London, 1704), iii. 576, quotes the sum of 200,000 riyāl of revenue paid to the Grand Signior each year.

³ See Appendix IV, p. 160.

Badr's conquests, however, were short-lived, for reasons which need not concern us here.

The anxiety of the Sulṭāns to placate rather than resist the Portuguese, even to go further and discourage resistance by their subjects, was certainly not popular in every quarter. At the commencement of Portuguese activities, the strongly religious sentiment of Ḥaḍramawt seems to have found its expression in the desire for the *djihād*, for the celebrated 'Amūdī Mashāyikh came down to the coast in 934 H. (A.D. 1527-8) with the express purpose of engaging in the holy war. The naval superiority of the Frank must surely have discouraged any very active participation against him by the Muslims, but the *Fatāwā* collections of the period reveal the strength of feeling against the Portuguese among religious, one might almost say literate, circles. The Kathīrī Sulṭāns, at that time still Bedouin or tribal in their outlook, were not so imbued with ideological religious antipathy to the Portuguese. The statement in *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*¹ that Badr was drinking with the Portuguese in al-Shiḥr demonstrates that the religious groups believed that the Sulṭān could at the same time fraternize with the foe of Islām and disregard one of its precepts.² At a somewhat later date (1590), when perforce the two Jesuit fathers made their journey through Ḥaḍramawt to San'ā', the Kathīrī Sulṭān evinced a quite extraordinary tolerance for their religion, though in Tarīm their faith nearly caused their death.³

The cruel, ruthless, and insulting attitude of the Portuguese towards the Muslims has been described by Zain al-Dīn al-Ma'barī,⁴ but this must be considered along with the little care for human life in the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden as it appears in this very century even, in the writings of Henri de Monfreid. A passing remark of significance, under the annals for the year 939 H.

¹ See p. 176 *infra*. Since neither Bā Makhramah nor Bā Sandjalah even so much as implies that the Portuguese attempted to assassinate Badr I cannot but regard this tale as unhistorical.

² In the matter of drinking wine, Ḥaḍramawt is very strict, nor can I recollect any reference to the drinking of any sort of liquor in the many Ḥaḍramī books I have seen. On the other hand, I have heard it said that a sort of date wine was at one time produced in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, and have actually drunk arak prepared by the Jews of Ḥabbān.

³ C. F. Beckingham and R. B. Serjeant, 'A Journey by Two Jesuits from Dhufār to San'ā' in 1590', *Geographical Journal* (London, 1950), cxv. 194-207.

⁴ M. J. Rowlandson, *Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen* (London, 1833, pp. 103-10; David Lopes, *Historia dos Portugueses no Malabar por Zinadim* (Lisboa, 1898).

(A.D. 1532-3), indicates that the Portuguese learned that neither goods nor women remained in al-Shiḥr and so abandoned the idea of landing there, it being assumed—without comment—that the Portuguese would violate the women at any opportunity, an action deeply repugnant to the strict rules of tribal warfare. Not later than 983 H. (A.D. 1575) an Indian author records that Muslims going from India on the pilgrimage by sea to Mecca 'had to put up with indignities from the Portuguese whose ship-tickets had pictures of Mary and Jesus stamped on them'.¹ The Turks were no less ruthless and perfidious than the Portuguese, but they were Muslims, active protagonists of the faith, and although their support of the Ḥanafī rite against Shāfi'ī southern Arabia has left its mark in legal literature, this is to be regarded as a domestic issue.

In brief, then, the political situation that can be inferred from the Ḥaḍramī chronicles is one of submission—on the best terms available—to the dominant maritime power of the moment, be it Portuguese or Turk, while the local wars and disputes continued as they had done for untold centuries.

From the ample documentation at our disposal, we are already well acquainted with the Portuguese attitude toward the South Arabian coastal Sultāns. For the part played by the Turks, actual Turkish sources are hardly even tapped, but it is at least probable that copies of the actual letters and diplomas sent to the Yemen, and even al-Shiḥr, from Constantinople by the Sultān's officials should be discoverable in the Ottoman archives there. Though the Arabic sources for the amazing and courageous exploits of the Portuguese in India and the Red Sea are in rather better case than the Turkish, yet they too have been a little neglected. It cannot be said, however, that the chief movements and more prominent events recorded by the Ḥaḍramī authors are in any way new to historians—to whom they will supply little more than minor details previously unknown to them. On the other hand the impact of the Portuguese assault on shipping and coastal ports in Arabia has been largely neglected by historians; the lack of native sources has made it impossible for them to assess very exactly the policies of native chiefs and rulers. Where the Mahrah are concerned, we are still almost entirely unprovided with adequate historical data, though some information is supplied by our Ḥaḍramī chroniclers.

¹ H. Blochmann, *The Ain I Akbari by Abul Fazl 'Allami* (Calcutta, 1873), p. 172.

The said Ḥaḍramī historians, here done into English, show the reverse side of the picture presented to us by the Portuguese writers. They are Mashāyikh and Saiyid *ulema*, professionally interested in religion and *sharīʿah*, but they are not by any means unacquainted with the seafaring activities of their fellow countrymen—which of course would daily be the subject of litigation in the courts. They are well instructed on current events in the countries of the African and Asian seaboard of the Indian Ocean with which their country was in the closest maritime contact.

IV. *Jewish, Indian, and African traders in South Arabia*

How very cosmopolitan in outlook the trading and seafaring population of the South Arabian ports was can best be judged from the writings of Ibn Mādjīd and Sulaimān al-Mahrī. Arab historians say little specifically of Jewish merchants, whose activities at a rather earlier period have been made well known to us by Professor S. D. Goitein's¹ researches into business documents from the Cairo Genizah; they acted not rarely as intermediaries for the Portuguese at the time of their first contacts with East Africa and the Indies; but although Jews are named in many cases in the *Fatāwā* both of B. Djaʿmān and Bā Makhramah, &c., I have not ascertained that they are any other than local Yemenite Jews. Alvares² even has a story about a Jew residing in the Kingdom of Fartaque, the Mahrī Sultanate.

The Indians resident in the larger ports seem to have been as numerous as they are today. As they were mostly Hindus the *Fatāwā* cases illustrate the position they were assigned in relation to Muslim society, and the part that they played in commerce. They are always known as Bāniyān, and it is typical that at quite an early date they should have made the word *karrānī* or clerk familiar to the Arabs.³ Ibn Djaʿmān⁴ deals with the question of an insult put by a Bāniyān upon a Muslim, and the collection

¹ S. D. Goitein, 'From the Mediterranean to India: Documents on the Trade to India, South Arabia, and East Africa, from the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Speculum* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), xxix. ii. i, pp. 181-97.

² F. Alvares, *Verdadeira Informação das Terras do Preste João* (Lisbon, 1889 and 1943), ii, cap. ii.

³ Both words, *Bāniyān* and *karrānī*, are to be found in O. Löfgren, *Arabische Texte*, iii, glossary. Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʿ al-Lāmiʿ* (Cairo, 1354 H.), ii. 207, alludes to a man of Mecca with an Indian father known by the *nisbah*, *al-karrānī*. See also *ibid.*, p. 241.

⁴ MS. cit., fol. 355b.

known as *al-Fatāwā al-Ḥabashīyah*,¹ which I saw in Dathīnah also, discusses the problem arising when the Hindus employ Muslim servants to do jobs in which there is degradation of a Muslim's status (*ihānah li-'l-Muslimīn*), for example one might cite their employment of Muslims as sweepers. In the commercial sphere Ibn Dja'mān alludes to a man purchasing cloth from the infidel Hindus, al-Bāniyān al-Kuffār,² then as now, probably, the principal commodity in which they dealt. There is a case of a man borrowing on interest from a Bāniyān,³ of a debt owed by a Muslim to a Bāniyān,⁴ of a man being imprisoned for debt to one,⁵ and the vexed question of the Bāniyān's oath in a debt case where a Muslim is involved.⁶ In yet another anonymous legal text I saw in Mūdiyah, evidently belonging to this period, a man pledges a bracelet with a Bāniyān. The *Rawḥ al-Rūḥ* actually mentions⁷ one Indian ship, *markab Rāmah*, perhaps indeed two (for the text is lacking in diacritical points), out of the four in Aden harbour when it was besieged by the Egyptians.

It is relevant here, perhaps, to remark that in 934 H. (A.D. 1527-8) the 'Turks, as represented by the Emir Salmān and his slave Ṣafar, were offered by the governor of Aden a peace agreement (*muṣālahah*), with provisos that the address should be said in the name of the Ottoman Sulṭān (*khutbah*), that his name should appear on the coinage (*sikkah*), and he should receive half of the tithes on the Indian (trade fleet), *niṣf 'ushūr al-Hindī*.⁸ In the following century, it is stated by Muḥammad b. Hāshim⁹ that the contribution paid by the Sulṭān Badr b. 'Abdullāh, 1058 H. (A.D. 1648), on the revenue from the India trade fleet,¹⁰ and the tax

¹ *Al-Djawāhir al-Mufidah min al-Fatāwā al-Ḥabashīyah*, possibly the same as *Fatāwī al-Ḥubaishi* catalogued by G. Levi della Vida, *Elenco dei Manoscritti arabi islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City, 1935), p. 204, no. 1353, which is also an incomplete copy like the Dathīnah MS.

² Op. cit., fol. 102b. There seems to be a conspiracy in this case to defraud a Muslim in a transaction over cloth by the Bāniyāns.

³ Ibid., fol. 114b.

⁴ Ibid., fol. 133b.

⁵ Ibid., fol. 140a.

⁶ Ibid., fol. 365a-b. Bā Hārūn's tenth/sixteenth-century hagiologies allude to a Bāniyān doctor (*ṭabīb*), but the tale may be set in India.

⁷ Brit. Mus. MS. no. 4583, of 'Īsā b. Luṭf Allāh al-Muṭahhar, fol. 21a-b. *مرکب عیسی رخراف (?) و مرکب عیسی بن مقفغه و کسماه موسل و مرکب رابه*.

⁸ Bā Faḥīh al-Shihri, Huraidah MS. fol. 65a-b.

⁹ Muḥ. b. Hāshim, *Tārīkh*, pp. 80-81, quoting the Mukallā MS. of al-Djarmūzī.

¹⁰ Text: *الرسم الهندي وما تقرر مما رسم على البانين*. For this one must read *al-mūsim al-Hindī*.

on the Bāniyāns for the period of three months to the Imām of the Yemen, was '220, and 300 ḥarf, and 15 ḥarf aḥmar', while in the year 1067 H. (A.D. 1656-7) the sum paid on the India trade fleet and on the Bāniyāns was 850 (ḥarf?).¹ This was in respect of al-Shiḥr. The duties paid by the merchants coming over with the Indian monsoon are, of course, without regard to religion or race, but there does seem then to have been some special levy or tax on the Indians at al-Shiḥr, though, apart from this isolated reference which I quote at second hand, I know nothing more of it.

The *Fatāwā* collections contain a certain amount of incidental information about the South Arabian connexions with Abyssinia, and occasionally with East Africa, generally in matters connected with the slave trade or in the form of questions from Muslim, often Arab communities, settled in the coastal cities, but quotation is only made where it is pertinent to the tale of the Portuguese.

The world of trade and commerce was well organized, as may be judged from the two almanacs, an edition of which I have in preparation. These give exact dates according to the solar year for the arrival of each shipping fleet, be it from Africa, India, the Red Sea, or Persian Gulf, at Bandar 'Adan. There was a network of agents in all the ports: Ibn Dja'mān,² for example, speaks of a man who claimed he was the agent (*wakīl*) of the Ahl Dābūl (Daibul) at Mocha. Ibn Ḥadjar³ has a long and most revealing case on shipping between Suez (Bandar al-Suwais) and Jeddah. In this the hiring of a vessel is discussed, and the contract to convey a number of people and their baggage (*aḥmāl*), each one having a stipulated quantity of effects ('*uddah ma'lūmah bi-warakaḥ takhtaṣṣ bihi*'), specified in an appropriate document. In the course of the texts presented below there is, in fact, a reference to documents carried by shipping, and the earlier *Mulakhkhaṣ al-Fitan*⁴ mentions bills of lading (*satmī*, pl. *satāmī*, a Gujerati word)⁵ of a nākhudhā at Aden. Apart from contact with agents, the news of a ship's sailing was proclaimed in the ports (*banādir*) by public crier, as

¹ Muḥ. b. Hāshim also states that the coin known as dhahab aḥmar was reckoned at 630 kīrsh, which I find hard to credit in view of my findings *infra*. In the figures he cites I think ḥarf must mean always ḥarf aḥmar which I should reckon as sequins or ashrafīs. Horses were also sent as presents to the Imām and some of his officials.

² *Fatāwā*, op. cit., fol. 141a.

³ Ibn Ḥadjar, *Al-Fatāwā al-Kubrā*, iv. 216.

⁴ MS. cit., fol. 27^r.

⁵ H. H. Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms . . . of British India* (London, 1855).

may be seen in al-Khazradjī's history,¹ for in 626 H. (A.D. 1228-9), when on the point of sailing for Egypt, al-Malik al-Mas'ūd of the Yemen caused proclamation to be made inviting private merchants to join his convoy to Egypt. In Aden today I have heard of the *tāsah min markab Bā Zar'ah* (the drum of the Bā Zar'ah vessel), for proclamation is always made by drum in the *sūks* of southern Arabia. In al-Mukallā the herald or crier is known as *al-muṭarrib* and his proclamation as *taṭrūbah*. In olden days he used to commence with the stock opening phrases to his proclamation, *Al-awwalah ṣallū 'alaiḥ, wa-'l-thānīyah ṣallū 'alaiḥ, wa-'l-thālithah ṣallū 'alaiḥ*. ('First bless him [i.e. the Prophet], second bless him, third bless him.') Now both in Aden and in al-Mukallā he merely opens with *Yakūn ma'lūm li-djamī' al-nās*. ('Let it be known to all people.') This is of course prefaced by beating his drum as usual.

v. *Some effects of the Portuguese blockade on trade*

Whereas most European writers are preoccupied with the shortage in Egypt of such commodities as pepper, resulting from the Portuguese diversion of trade from the Red Sea route, it is no such expensive luxury that is mentioned by Ibn Īyās² as being scarce there. He speaks simply of muslins and *fūṭahs*: it is textiles that figure most abundantly in the period about 1400 in the *Mulakhkhaṣ al-Fitan* at Aden. The range and variety of textiles imported might alone of course have given rise to so detailed a series of specifications in the latter treatise; but, to compare the sixteenth century with the twentieth, it was the disappearance of cheap Japanese cottons during the late war and the years immediately following which, next to food shortages, probably most severely affected the ordinary people of southern Arabia. I have previously argued that one might conceivably look on the Portuguese economic blockade of southern Arabia as a cause of the decline of the glass industry on the Aden littoral,³ but this may have been due partly to the competition of Venetian glass. In the economic sphere other data might

¹ *El-Khazreji's History of the Resūli Dynasty of the Yemen* (al-'Ukūd al-Lu'lu'-īyah), edit. Muḥ. 'Asal (Leyden-London, 1906-18), iv. 41.

² See p. 162. I have used G. W. F. Stripling, *The Ottoman Turks and the Arabs 1511-1574* (Illinois, 1942), for the general economic background, though his knowledge of southern Arabia east of Aden is inaccurate.

³ Arthur Lane and R. B. Serjeant, op. cit., *J.R.A.S.* (London, 1948), p. 119; C. Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie* (Amsterdam, 1774), iii. 190, does, however, speak of the quite recent establishment of a glass-factory at Mocha.

be garnered from contemporary sources: to take a case in point, Ibn Ḥadjar¹ speaks of cheese imported from Frankish lands, though he does not say by which route, and he has also an interesting *fatwā*, or legal opinion, on the lawfulness of using European paper watermarked with pictures of animals.²

Most indicative of the situation created by the Portuguese, however, is the following commercial problem set Bā Makhramah³ to resolve:

Question

About a man who deposited goods in the hands of another (*istawda'a min ākhīr*),⁴ (the latter) to sell them in the country to which he was proceeding, and for the price (at which he would sell them) to take in return (*yata'awwad*) something wherein he perceives profit (*maṣlahah*) (to lie), as is the custom current among travellers⁵ by sea, &c.

This he did, the goods remaining in his hands for a period of two years or more, for an adequate reason (*'udhr*) obliging him (to do so), he not again meeting with the owner of the goods (*lam 'ād yadjtami'*) to deliver them over to him. There is no dispute⁶ that when he returns from his voyage he should deposit it (the goods?) with a trustworthy person (*'adl*) in a certain port (*ba'd al-banādīr*). Then the enemy of the Faith, the Frank, seized possession of the vessel laden with the said goods, at sea, burning it along with all the said goods it contained. Yet no shortcoming (*taḡṣīr*), nor any action contrary (*mukhālafah*) (to his instructions) had proceeded from the person with whom the goods were deposited (*al-wadī'*). Must the said person with whom (the goods were) deposited be responsible, such being the case; is his holding of the said goods a safe-deposit (? *amānah*) or not?

Answer

If no shortcoming has proceeded from the said person with whom (the deposit has been made), then he is not liable for the safety of the article deposited (*ḍamān al-wadī'ah*).

¹ *Al-Fatāwā al-Kubrā*, i. 26: *al-djubn al-madjlūb min bilād al-Firandj*.

² *Ibid.*, iv, p. 115. This is also the subject of a *fatwā* in a MS. seen in Müdiyah, *al-Masā'il al-Mulaibāriyah*, mentioning *ḡarātīs al-Ifrandj* containing (*fiḥā*) pictures of animals, imported in the time of the forebears (*zaman al-salaf*) without objection being raised. The question put to Ibn Ḥadjar is—should the part containing the pictures of animals be cut out? He says, however, that it is permissible not to do so, as we use *dīnārs* with animal figures imported from their countries.

³ This is taken from the unabridged *Fatāwā* volume I saw in Müdiyah, presumably *al-Fatāwā al-Adaniyah*.

⁴ Cf. Ibn al-'Aidārūs, *al-Nūr al-Sāfir* (Baghdad, 1934), p. 250, lines 1-2.

⁵ Arabic سفارة. ⁶ Conjectural rendering, reading ولا مرة for ولا مرة.

The above is of course some specific case, though in accordance with the usual practice names and details of the circumstances are suppressed, yet it must have been typical enough of losses suffered by merchants through the Portuguese. A case opening with a similar contract is cited by Ibn Dja'mān,¹ 'concerning a man who deposited an article in trust (*awda'a amānah*) with a person of the Hindus (al-Bāniyān), and gave him permission to take for its price an article of merchandise'.

VI. *Sources and manuscripts*

The notices on the Portuguese are principally extracted from the *Tārīkh* Bā Faḳīh al-Shihrī, a chronicle already described,² though I have still discovered no information concerning his biography. The manuscript in the library of the late Sulṭān Ṣāliḥ at al-Mukallā first attracted my attention in 1947, so I made extracts of the relevant passages. These were collated with a second copy lent me by Bā Ṣurrah, then governor of al-Shihr; but even then the text was not entirely satisfactory, and there remained many obstinate difficulties of interpretation I could not resolve. On my visit to Tarīm in 1953 Saiyid 'Abdullāh Bā Faḳīh generously placed a fairly early copy of the chronicle at my disposal which I found of assistance. Finally, in Ḥuraydah I saw again what I had imagined on an early visit to be a different version,³ but it turned out to be a crudely written copy of the full chronicle. Through the kind intermediary of the 'Aṭṭās Saiyids I was eventually able to purchase this copy, which on detailed examination appears at least as accurate as the other manuscripts, perhaps actually the best of all.

The four manuscripts are designated Mukallā, Bā Ṣurrah, Tarīm, and Ḥuraydah. I have not provided an Arabic text, as Bā Faḳīh's chronicle merits publication *in toto*, but have contented myself with an eclectic translation from all four manuscripts,

¹ MS. purchased in Müdiyah, a very interesting collection, especially on agricultural and water law and custom. The author is Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Dja'mān. The vocalization of the last name is taken from the epitome of the Bā Makhramah *Fatāwā* cited *supra* (p. 28, n. 3), fol. 140^v. According to the *Mulḥaḳ al-Badr al-Ṭālī** of Muḥ. b. Yaḥyā Zabārah al-Yamanī (Cairo, 1348 H.), published as an appendix to al-Shawḳānī's biographies (p. 9), he died in 1034 H. (A.D. 1624-5).

² Materials for South Arabian History (I), p. 292. In general for Ḥaḍramī history see my article in the *B.S.O.A.S.* (London, 1962), xxv, II, pp. 239-61.

³ Materials, p. 294.

noting variants, dialectal expressions, and words of significance to act as a control of my rendering.

The other manuscripts of which I have availed myself are the *Tārīkh Shanbal* already described¹ (this entire text I have now prepared from the unique manuscript to the extent that it could be published, a task of great difficulty because of the paucity of diacritical points on proper names), and a manuscript belonging to the late Saiyid 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubaidullāh al-Sakḳāf of Saiwūn (himself the author of an unpublished history of Ḥaḍramawt), which I do not seem to have identified. This last manuscript is not very old, but doubtless draws on manuscripts which are much older. As Shanbal died in 920 H. (A.D. 1514) and seems in any case to have been a Tarīmī, remote from the coast, his notices are brief and not very informed, but he is contemporary with the events of which he writes.

Bā Faḳīh's chronicle covers the tenth century H., i.e. 901–1000 H. (A.D. 1495–1592). As he was not contemporary with perhaps most of the events he describes he draws on Bā Makhramah and on Bā Sandjalāh.² Till 1954 I believed the latter chronicle to be irretrievably lost, but in Saiwūn I chanced upon some fragments of the chronicle which I was able to identify; but that is another story connected rather with the history of the Shanbal chronicle; these fragments are now safely in the hands of Saiyid Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī al-Ḥāmidī.

I had supposed Bā Makhramah to be the author of the *Kilādat al-Nahr*, but Mr. L. O. Schuman of the Instituut voor het moderne nabije Oosten, who is working on an account of the Turkish and Egyptian activities in the Yemen, points out to me that his history ends by the year 927 H. (A.D. 1521), whereas the notices I have utilized continue till 948 H. (A.D. 1541–2), a year after the death of the author of *Kilādat al-Nahr*. The author whose writings Bā Faḳīh has utilized is in fact 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar al-Taiyib

¹ Materials for South Arabian History (I), p. 291.

² Ibid., p. 300. Cf. 'Abdullāh b. Muḥ. . . . al-Sakḳāf, *Tārīkh al-Shu'arā' al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn* (Cairo, 1353 H.), i. 179–80, where he is called 'Abdullāh b. Muḥ. Bā S khlāh, born *circa* 938 H. (A.D. 1531–2), *ob. circa* 995 H. (1586–7). He was a Shiḥrī, probably a Shaikh. 'Abdullāh al-Sakḳāf states that his history is arranged in annalist form, but does not seem to have seen it. He states also that his biography is in *al-Sanā' al-Bāhir*, but the only reference I have found there is under the annals for 975 H. (A.D. 1567–8) where he is described as al-faḳīh al-adīb 'Abdullāh b. Muḥ. Sandjalāh (vowelling my own) al-Shiḥrī, a poem by whom is quoted on fol. 340b.

Bā Makhramah, the nephew of the 'Abdullāh of the *Ḳilādah* and *Tārīkh Thaghr 'Adan*. The family has produced a number of famous scholars in the Islāmic tradition. Löfgren¹ quotes a passage from *al-Sanā' al-Bāhīr* in which 'Abdullāh states that, at the time of his uncle's death, he was absent in Mecca. This tallies exactly with Bā Faḳīh's quotation for the year 947 H. (A.D. 1540-1), where Bā Makhramah remarks that he was in Jeddah. It is he who is actually mentioned by Bā Sandjalāh at al-Shiḥr (p. 77). He died in 972 H. (A.D. 1564-5).

From *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*² Bā Faḳīh quotes once only (p. 106) in the extracts *infra*, but this is sufficient to indicate that his chronicle was compiled after 1012 H. (A.D. 1603) when the former work was completed, but probably not immediately after that date. Perhaps his chronicle is intended to form a sort of counterpart to *al-Nūr al-Sāfir* in that it contains the history of the country as seen from al-Shiḥr. After quotations from Bā Makhramah cease, Bā Faḳīh is not well informed on events outside Ḥaḍramawt.

To some extent the versions of given incidents vary as between Bā Sandjalāh and Bā Makhramah, for example, under the annals for the year 945 H. (A.D. 1538-9) (p. 91) where the former, like al-Shillī, author of *al-Sanā' al-Bāhīr*, blames the cowardice of Sulaimān al-'Tawāshī for the retreat of the Turkish fleet from Diu, while Bā Makhramah, taking the official Turkish view, attributes it merely to lack of co-operation on the part of the Gujeratis. Occasionally Bā Faḳīh adds his own commentary on the course of events.

In preparing the translations I have had recourse to certain printed Arabic sources and some translations, as well as to a number of manuscripts. *Al-Nūr al-Sāfir* has proved disappointingly uncommunicative of the great events on the coast, the author being more concerned with the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt though he was born in Aḥmadābād and so knew the world beyond Arabia. Ulughkhānī's chronicle³ is valuable and well informed on South Arabia; were it more fully edited it could be more useful still. To explain my texts I have, as usual, consulted many individuals whose assistance is hardly acknowledged here.

For the general historical background the best modern printed

¹ See Note D, p. 168.

² Op. cit., p. 241.

³ *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, by 'Abdullāh Muḥammad . . . Ulughkhānī, edit. E. Denison Ross (London, 1910-28).

text in existence is my old friend Saiyid Muḥammad b. Hāshim's *Tārīkh al-Dawlat al-Kathīrīyah* (Cairo, 1948), but Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī's *Fī Ḥaḍramawt* (Cairo, 1949) and his earlier *Tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt al-Siyāsī* (Cairo, 1935-6) may be consulted. None of these works is free of mistakes, and b. Hāshim's sympathies are Kathīrī and 'Alawī, while Ṣalāḥ's are Ku'aiṭī, and even Irshādī.

A complete correlation with the Portuguese sources is not attempted, but I am indebted to Professor C. F. Beckingham for a commentary on points of interest and observations which have enabled me to render the text with greater conviction. His comments have been marked *C. F. B.*

VII. *Style*

The chroniclers write in an Arabic style not far removed from that of speech, abounding in colloquial turns of phrase and vocabulary; it is not, according to strict classical concepts, free from grammatical mistakes. This might be described as the style of the majority of South Arabian authors from the medieval period onwards, but it will be seen that al-Djarmūzī's style is sophisticated and correct,¹ reflecting the more highly cultivated atmosphere of the Yemenite court. Ulughkhānī himself exhibits certain turns of phrase which I should, at first sight, have termed South Arabian, were it not for the fact that they probably were also current in the cities of the Hejaz.

The nautical terms, especially those relating to shipping, will be found in the glossaries;² they belong to the same class as the elaborate technical vocabulary of Ferrand's *Instructions nautiques*.³ It has not been an easy or short task to have these words explained, and in some cases I have had to resort to conjecture. A few words seem to have dropped out of what is current usage today, as, for example, *djarrār*⁴ which, I have suggested, may mean 'galley-slaves'.

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 113.

² Cf. Glossary of Foreign Words, p. 188.

³ This work could undoubtedly be explained by consultation with the local *nākhūdhās* today; my field-books contain some of their terms which correspond with those of the *Instructions*.

⁴ Cf. p. 88.

HADRAMĪ CHRONICLERS ON PORTUGUESE ACTIVITIES,

A.D. 1498-1577 (904-984 H.)

TĀRĪKH SHANBAL (129)

Year 904 H. (A.D. 1498-9)

In this year the infidel Franks appeared off Mogadisho and Sabādj¹ in India. Their course ran under the wind,² and he (the Frank) made for Kilwah³ where he built a fort.

TĀRĪKH AL-SHIHRĪ (15b)

Year 906 H. (A.D. 1500-1)⁴

Then after him (Muḥammad b. Ḳā'itbāi), his slave Ḳānṣūh al-Ghawrī⁵ came to power. He dispatched a mighty fleet (*tadjrīdah*) to fight the Frank, its commander (*amīr*) being Husain Kurdi.⁶ Entering India he stopped at Diu,⁷ the monarch of which was the

¹ See Note E, p. 169.

² The expressions *taht al-rīh* and *faṭḥ al-rīh* are of frequent occurrence in the *Instructions nautiques*, and in the sailing directions of Aḥmad b. Mādjid published by Shumovsky. Saiyid Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭās of al-Shiḥr informs me that to sail 'under the wind' means to sail with a suitable wind which, however, dies away, then blows again, but is never quite strong enough for steady sailing; to sail 'above the wind' is when the wind is far stronger than required, though blowing in the appropriate direction. Another informant suggested that 'under the wind' meant close inshore.

³ Cf. S. A. Strong, 'History of Kilwa', *J.R.A.S.* (London, 1895), p. 385. Vasco da Gama did not go on to Kilwa, which the Portuguese visited only on the second voyage. Almeida built the fort in A.D. 1505 (*C.F.B.*).

⁴ This expedition left Suez in February A.D. 1507 (912 H.) to be finally defeated by the Portuguese Viceroy off Diu in February A.D. 1509 (914 H.). (*C.F.B.*) Ibn al-'Aidārūs, *al-Nūr al-Sāfir* (Baghdad, 1934), p. 44, says the Egyptians sent Sulṭān 'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb a present of a crystal lamp (*fānūs billawr*), about the height of a man, two crystal boxes, some large swords, &c.

⁵ In *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, al-Gavri.

⁶ The name is so given by the author.

⁷ All MSS. read al-Dair, but al-Diu is probably correct. The persistence of the reading al-Dair is a feature of these MSS., but sometimes al-Diu cannot be substituted. Yet al-Dair seems never to occur in the *Instructions nautiques* or Shumovsky's gazetteer. 'Abdullāh . . . Ulughkhāni, *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, edit. E. Denison Ross (London, 1910-28), p. 274, says: *Al-Diū aṣlu-ha 'l-Dīb* (the origin of Diū is Dīb). If the name was so reported *bā* may have been confused with *rā*.

Sultān Maḥmūd, the latter being represented at Diu by his slave, the eunuch (al-Ṭawāshī) Malik Īyās¹ by name, a Turk (Rūmī) whom he had purchased from a certain merchant, a man of great distinction.

The expedition fell in the year 13 (A.D. 1507–8). It had an engagement with the Frank, but was defeated and returned to the Arabian coast.

I say:

This was at the first appearance of the Franks, may God curse them, in the (Indian) Ocean seizing (Muslim shipping).²

The chronicler said:

The first appearance of the Frank was at the island of Kilwah³ (with *ki* and no vowel after the *l*, and *wa* and no vowel after the *h*), a large island of Swahili land (*arḍ al-Sawāḥil*) on the trade-route. Then they returned to their country, coming a second time with presents, strange documents,⁴ and formal propositions (*kalām muntaẓam*) to the Lord of Kilwah. Then he (the Frank) left there for the (African) coast, and thence for the land of India. His first appearance in the land of India was at Calicut, Malabar,⁵ and Goa⁶ at the beginning of the 900's, i.e. the beginning of the tenth century (H.). So, too, his first appearance⁷ off the Arabian coast, may God abandon him, was that he moored (*tawwāh*⁸) at

¹ Text, incorrectly, Īyās.

² Mukallā MS. *yataḥaffazūn*, which is unacceptable. Other MSS. *yatakhḥaṭ-ṭafūn*, plunder, steal (Rahaiyam).

³ Kilwah was not in fact the first place where the Franks appeared. Vasco da Gama called at Moçambique but missed Kilwah by accident. It was first visited by the Portuguese under Pedro Alvares Cabral on the second voyage to India in 1500. Almeida built a fort there on his outward voyage in 1505. (C.F.B.)

⁴ Perhaps the Arabic *masāṭir* alludes to the diplomatic documents in several languages which the Portuguese brought with them.

⁵ Text: Kālikūt wa-Munaibārāt wa-Djuwah. Calicut was roughly the first place in India at which the Portuguese called in A.D. 1498 (903 H.). Da Gama's fleet anchored off Kappat a few miles to the north, but never went to Calicut itself. (C.F.B.)

⁶ Shanbal's Goa refers to Anjadiva, an island south of Goa where da Gama called on his homeward voyage. He did not visit Goa itself. (C.F.B.)

⁷ The first appearance off the Arabian coast was that of Vicente Sodre's squadron in 1503 (late 908 H.) in spring. It accompanied Vasco da Gama on his second voyage to India (1502–3) and remained when da Gama took the rest of the fleet home, to pick up prizes and blockade the Gulf of Aden. (C.F.B.)

⁸ From the word *tawwāh* which occurs frequently in Ferrand's and Shumovsky's texts is derived 'Tawwāhī' the name in Aden Back Bay. Tawwāhī is found in Ferrand's texts. Cf. p. 62, n. 3, *infra*.

Huṣn al-Ghurāb¹ near al-Shiḥr in the beginning of year 8 or 9 (A.D. 1502-4) of the tenth century (H.).

Year 908 H. (A.D. 1502-3) (21a)

In this year (*Radjab*) the vessels of the Frank appeared at sea *en route* for India, Hurmūz, and those parts. They took about seven vessels,² killing those on board and making some prisoner. This was their first action, may God curse them.

TĀRĪKH SHANBAL (136)

Year 912 H. (A.D. 1506-7)

In this year the infidel Franks took Socotra,³ killing there the son of 'Ṭaw'arī al-Zuwaidī⁴ along with fifty of the Muslims, and built there a fort.⁵

TĀRĪKH AL-SHIḤRĪ (28a)

In this year the power of the Frank became strengthened, and great damage was caused by them in certain parts of India. It is said that in this year, too, the Frank took the island of Hurmūz by agreement (*sulḥ-an*), but others say that this befell in the following year.

Year 913 H. (A.D. 1507-8) (28b)⁶

In this year the Franks, may God abandon them, gained control over the island of Socotra and the island of Hurmūz, granting

¹ This well-known island west of al-Mukallā is usually identified with Kana. A notable landmark from the sea, it is also imposing from the landward side. Some writers suppose it to be the southern terminus of the incense route up the east flank of the Yemen. The inscriptions of its Ḥimyarite fort are published. Most of the surrounding country is barren, but the fishing village of Bīr 'Alī seems quite prosperous. It is the subject of a tale of the early Muslim campaigns. Cf. *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 131b, &c.

² The Mukallā MS. does not mention the seven vessels, though they figure in the Tarīm and Ḥuraidah MSS., the latter without *naḥw* (about). This entry must refer to the same cruise of Sodre whose flagship was lost in a storm off the Curia Muria Islands with all hands in April 1503. (C. F. B.) Cf. *al-Sanā' al-Bāhir*, fol. 185b.

³ The attack by Albuquerque and Tristão da Cunha on Socotra, and the building of a fort took place in April 1507 (late 912 H.). (C. F. B.)

⁴ See Appendix V, p. 158.

⁵ See Appendix V.

⁶ The Tarīm and Ḥuraidah MSS. correctly place this entry in the above year, but the Mukallā MS., incorrectly, in 930 H. (A.D. 1523-4).

security to those merchants therein. They built a tower-fort (*kūt*) there, imposing a stipulated contribution (*shai' ma'lūm*)¹ each year on what is liable to be tithed (*al-mu'ashshar*)² and on the pearl-fishery (*al-maghāṣ*),³ &c.

In this year also, there arrived from Jeddah, Ḥusain Bey al-Kurdī, the Emir of the Lord of Egypt Kānṣūh al-Ghawrī, in command of three grabs and three galliots,⁴ making toward India. He took the course towards Diu⁵ with his sailing-ships in order to engage the Franks who had appeared in the (Indian) Ocean and cut the Muslims' trade-routes.⁶

TĀRĪKH SHANBAL (143)

Year 914 H. (A.D. 1508-9)

In this year the Frank took Dābūl,⁷ looting and burning it. In this year, also, the Frank made an expedition against Gujerat and attacked Diu.⁸ The Emir Ḥusain,⁹ who was at that time in Diu fighting the Holy War,¹⁰ went forth to meet him and they fought an engagement at sea beyond the port. Many on the Frankish side were slain, but eventually the Franks prevailed over the Muslims, and there befell a great slaughter among the Emir Ḥusain's

¹ *Shai' ma'lūm* is known from early times as an Islamic taxation term. Aḥmad Zaiṇī Daḥlān, *Khulāṣat al-Kalām* (Cairo, 1888), p. 33, refers to *niṣf ma'lūm Djuddah*, half of the 'known' tax of Jeddah, in 948 H. (A.D. 1541-2).

² The vocalization is from Shaikh 'Abdullāh Raḥaiyam.

³ Various authorities report there is still some pearling in Socotra.

⁴ The Arabic *ghurāb* and *barshah* are so rendered throughout on the authority of Kindermann, but see p. 132 for the list of technical terms for shipping, and Plate 8b for a drawing of a Portuguese *barcha* (بارچه) on Piri Re'is's map in P. Kahle, *Opera Minora* (Leiden, 1956), p. 265.

⁵ All the texts have 'al-Dair' here. D. Lopes, *Extractos da Historia da Conquista do Yaman* (Lisboa, 1892), p. 13 (Ar. text), has الديوان which, nevertheless, he renders as Diu.

⁶ The Mukallā MS. inserts here a notice which figures in the Tarīm and Huraidah MSS. under 915 H. (A.D. 1509-10).

⁷ This is the attack on Dābūl by the retiring viceroy Francisco de Almeida on his voyage north to Diu, to avenge the death of his son Lourenço, killed in the battle against Emir Husain (João de Barros, *L'Asia* . . . (Lisboa, 1954-8), II. iii. 4; L. de Castanheda, *História do descobrimento . . . da India* (Coimbra, 1924-33), II. 96). (C. F. B.)

⁸ Both Barros, II. iii. 6, and Castanheda, II. 100, agree that the Viceroy did not attack Diu. It is generally believed that he had secret negotiations with Malik Iyās. (C. F. B.)

⁹ Shanbal has actually al-Amīr Miṣr; perhaps to be read Amīr Šāḥib Miṣr, Emir of the Lord of Egypt.

¹⁰ Mudjāhid fī sabīl Allāh.

soldiers, about 600 men, while the survivors fled to Diu.¹ Nor did he (the Frank) depart until they had paid him much money.²

In this year the Zamorin (al-Sāmīrī), Sultān of Kālīkūt, made an expedition against the Frankish fort in Cochin (Kushī). He took it, killing those within it, and looting the gold and other valuables they had with them.

Year 915 H. (A.D. 1509-10) (148 and 149)

In this year the Franks besieged Hurmūz with six vessels (*markab*). Then they paid them 10,000 ashrafī³ every year . . .

In this year, also, the Emir of the Franks, the Dukk by name (spelled with a *d* followed by *u* and two *k*'s)⁴ made an expedition with 150 vessels⁵ under his command, against Kālīkūt, assisted by the people of Malabar. Then as the Frank approached the aforementioned city (*bilād*), they (the people of Kālīkūt) were stricken with panic at them, because of the equipment, weapons, and great number of men they perceived with them. So they fled to al-Dair⁶ and the Franks entered the town, burning it and looting

¹ Portuguese historians agree that their casualties were few; Damião de Góis, *Crónica do felicissimo rei D. Manuel* (Coimbra, 1926), II, cap. xxxix, says 32 dead and 300 wounded. Castanheda says the Muslims lost over 4,000 killed, and that only 22 Mamlūks escaped alive. Góis says over 3,000 excluding Mamlūks who were reduced from 800 to 22. Barros says over 1,500 including 440 Mamlūks, 'though others make the number much higher'. (C. F. B.)

² The Portuguese say nothing of being paid any money, though they state that Malik Īyās handed over seventeen Portuguese prisoners and sent supplies for the fleet. Husain himself (Castanheda, II, 101) fled to the King of Gujerat, as he thought Malik Īyās might hand him over to Almeida. (C. F. B.)

³ R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497-1550* (London, 1899), p. 69. The Aden ashrafī was worth 360 reals, that of Ormuz, Cochin, and Ceylon 300 reals. G. Ferrand, *Les Poids, mesures et monnaies des mers du Sud aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, Extr. du *Journal Asiatique* (Paris, 1920), index under Ashrafī, Xerafim, &c. M. H. Sauvare, 'Matériaux pour l'histoire de la numismatique et métrologie musulmanes', *Journal Asiatique* (Paris, 1880), p. 277, says it was used in 867 H., but that it comes from al-Malik al-Ashraf Bersbāy. Ibn Dja'mān in fact (*Fatāwā*, fol. 45b) states that Ibn Ḥadjar, op. cit., iii, 110, means the Kā'itbāi Barsbāi coin. Cf. W. Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans 1382-1468* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957), p. 49, on the ashrafī dīnār.

⁴ Don Fernando Coutinho is intended here, but whence could Shanbal have drawn the title 'Dukk' which he does not seem to have held?

⁵ Barros, II, iv, 1, says there were thirty Portuguese ships which were joined by praus from Cochin and some Malabari ships under the Arel of Porakkat. (C. F. B.)

⁶ This cannot be a mistake for al-Diu, and there seems to be no place called al-Dair. I have wondered if it might be Tircore of Lopes's map in *Historia dos Portugueses no Malabar por Zinadīm* (Lisboa, 1898) (Tuḥfat al-Mudjāhidīn).

what it contained. After some days, however, the Zamorin and his men attacked them, causing great slaughter in their ranks—about 100 men—the afore-mentioned Emir being among their number, may God Almighty send the Muslims victorious!¹

TĀRĪKH AL-SHIHRĪ (31a)

*Year 915 H. (A.D. 1509–10)*²

In this year the Franks seized the island of Goa (Kuwah)³ in the Malabar provinces of the land of India, from Muslim hands, murdering a congregation of the Muslims there at the Djāmi' Mosque on the Friday.

TĀRĪKH SHANBAL (153)

Year 916 H. (A.D. 1510–11)

In this year Khamīs and 'Amr,⁴ the sons of Sa'd b. al-Zuwaidī made an expedition against Socotra, it being at that time with the Frank. They entered the town (*bilād*) and made truce with them,⁵ but the Franks sallied forth against the Muslims and fought with them. About ten of the infidels were slain, the Muslims prevailing over them, and they looted some property . . .⁶

In this year, also, in India, the Frank took Goa (*Khuhwah*),⁷ built forts (*ḥuṣūn*) there, and slew many people.⁸

Year 917 H. (A.D. 1511–12) (156)

In this year the Franks removed from Socotra and Mahrah built a fort there.⁹

¹ Barros says 80 Portuguese were killed and 300 wounded; Castanheda says 78 were killed. (*C. F. B.*)

² The Mukallā MS. incorrectly chronicles this event under 930 H.

³ This spelling is curious. Cf. p. 58, n. 5 *infra*.

⁴ Saris (*Purchas his Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), i. 339) speaks of 'Sultan Amur Bensaid sonne of the King of Cushin' in 1612, no doubt of the Zuwaidī family.

⁵ The chronicler is ambiguous; perhaps the Socotrans are intended, perhaps the Franks.

⁶ Castanheda, iii. 48, gives as one reason for dismantling the fort that: 'The people of the country were generally more friendly to the Moors than to us and often revolted when the Moors made war.' (*C. F. B.*)

⁷ Perhaps جوه should be read for the Arabic خوه. Cf. p. 42, n. 4 *supra*.

⁸ Al-Shihri places the taking of Goa in the previous year. Albuquerque took Goa in February A.D. 1510, lost it in May, and retook it in November. (*C. F. B.*)

⁹ The Portuguese finally left Socotra in May 917 H. (A.D. 1511). (*C. F. B.*)



a. Model square-rigged caravel of a type developed from the lateen caravel in the early sixteenth century and used by Portuguese explorers



b. Model caravel of a type used by the Portuguese on their voyages of discovery



Aden Bay. Sirah Is. from which the Egyptians bombarded the town in 1513-14 (cf. p. 50), is in the foreground to the left. Bâb Maksûr, the Portuguese point of entry (cf. p. 47), would be to the extreme right

Year 919 H. (A.D. 1513-14) (159)

In this year the Frank, with twenty vessels (*markab*), made an expedition to Aden.¹ They put to shore in its harbour and advanced on the town (*bilād*), entering it with ladders on its flank, but the Muslims did battle with them until they drove them out of it. Of the infidels about 100 were killed, and of the Muslims about fifty. They set on fire the vessels which were in Aden harbour, about forty ships. Their point of entry into the city was by way of Bāb Maksūr² near (*taht*) Djabal al-Khaḍrā'.³ They then moved from Aden to Kamarān where they remained some days.

TĀRĪKH AL-SHIḤRĪ (35b)

Year 919 H. (A.D. 1513-14)⁴

On Friday, 5th of Muharram,⁵ the Franks, may God abandon them, arrived before the port of Aden. On the Saturday they advanced⁶ on the town, scaling the walls there with ladders by way of Sharsharah.⁷ Those who took part in the manœuvre numbered about 2,000, along with ample equipment.⁸ The people fled before them and all hearts were filled with trepidation. Then God granted the Muslims victory, and they routed them, cutting them down with frightful slaughter. A number of Muslims won martyrdom for the faith, amongst whom was 'Umar b. Mūsā al-Madjīdī,⁹ God rest his soul, for he was one of those to whom God accorded great favour;¹⁰ he received several wounds but died after the battle was ended. Of the Franks about 200 were slain.

¹ See Note F, p. 169.

² This is the gate earlier known as Bāb al-Sailah which the flood breaks at every flooding (*daf'ah*). Abū Makhramah, *Arabische Texte*, pp. 14 and 52. *Al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 93, states that in 916 H. (A.D. 1510-11) the rains at Aden were so heavy that a child was carried to sea by the flood and he was found there drowned by the tower (*burdj*) at which vessels anchor.

³ See Note G, p. 169.

⁴ This entry is recorded under 918 H. (A.D. 1512-13) in the Mukallā MS., but the Tarīm and Ḥuraidah MSS. place it in 919 H. Cf. *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 97.

⁵ The Ḥuraidah MS. has 'Thursday', perhaps in error.

⁶ Arabic, Mukallā MS., رجعوا; Ḥuraidah MS. رجعوا. I have corrected to رجعوا.

⁷ See Note G, p. 169.

⁸ Albuquerque is said to have left India with 1,700 Portuguese troops and 1,000 Malabaris. He reached Aden on 25 March, Good Friday, and attacked next day. (C. F. B.)

⁹ Mukallā MS. المجدي, Tarīm MS. المجدي; but the Ḥuraidah reading is best, as Banū Madjīd were known in Lahej and elsewhere.

¹⁰ Cf. Koran, viii. 17.

The *ḳāḍī al-Ṭaiyib Bā Makhramah*¹ said:

On Thursday, the 16th of Muḥarram, news of them reached Aden, and on Friday, 17th of Muḥarram, their sailing-vessels² appeared before the port, eighteen vessels (ranging) from galliot to grab. On the Saturday they disembarked from their ships in readiness for battle, but God granted the victory to the Muslims.

(Concluded in summary.)

Then the abandoned (Frank) left Aden on Tuesday, 26th of Muḥarram. He took possession of the island of Kamarān where he remained until the latter part of Djumādā I.³ He then left it, bound for India, passing (*en route*) by Aden, sailing by it disheartened, and with his tail between his legs (*khāsiy-an ḥasīr-an*).

The chronicler says:

The Frank took possession [*sic*] of Aden on the 19th of Ṣafar, his sailing-vessels numbering seventeen. The captain (*kanbuṭān*)⁴ of the Franks, may God curse his name, was Albuquerque⁵ which is a curious coincidence.

Year 921 H. (A.D. 1515-16) (36b)

In the month of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah of this year, the Egyptian expedition (*tadjhīz*), the commander (*amīr*) of which was Salmān al-Rūmī, and Ḥusain Turkī, arrived at the island of Kamarān.⁶ This was the beginning of the coming of the Turks⁷ to the Yemen, and the cause of all the troubles (*fitan*).

The *ḳāḍī al-Ṭaiyib Bā Makhramah* said:

On Wednesday, the 17th of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah of the same year, the

¹ See Introduction, p. 38, for this author.

² Arabic: *khashab*.

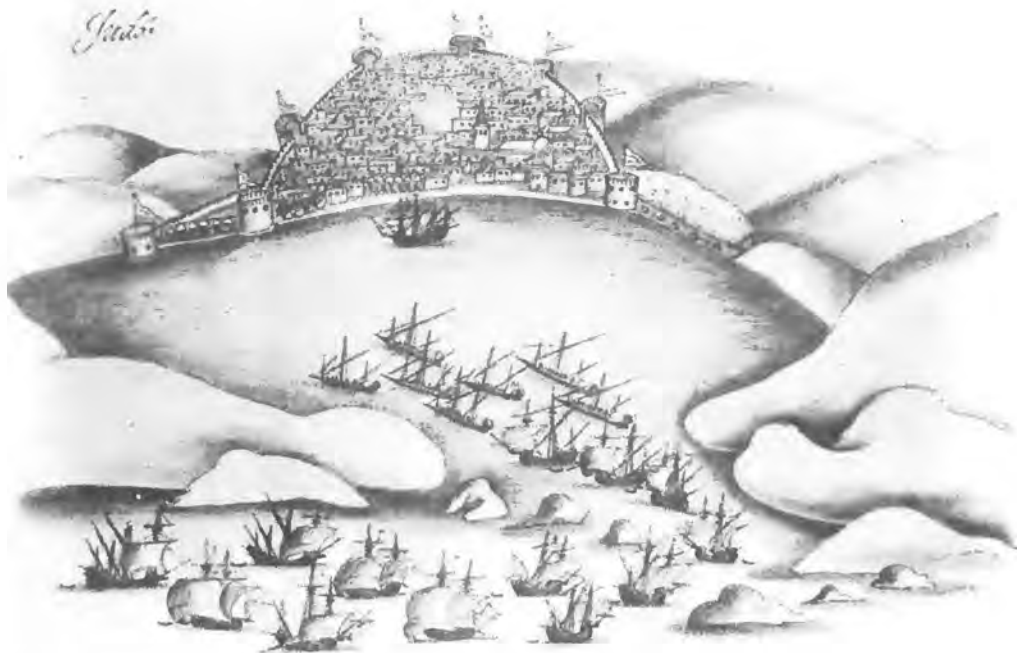
³ i.e. mid-July 919 H. (A.D. 1513). (*C. F. B.*)

⁴ I have vocalized this after the style of Kapudan. D. Lopes, *Extractos*, p. 20, has *Ḳubbuṭān*, and Jahn, *Mehrisprache*, pp. 205 and 273, *qumbatōn* and Ḥaḍramī *qumbatān*. H. and R. Kahane, *Turkish Nautical Terms*, p. 246, derive it from the Italian *capitano*.

⁵ *Al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 97, states that in this year fell the entry of the Franks into Aden, and their chief 'Ain al-Baḳar (which should be read for the عین یفر of my texts) was killed by the hand of the Emir Mardjān. Barḳūḳ (i.e. Albuquerque) means small plums; a type of these called 'Uyūn al-Baḳar is mentioned for example in the *Bughyat al-Fallāḥīn* of al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. Dā'ūd al-Ghassānī, my transcript, p. 117.

⁶ Castanheda, iv. 7, states that the Muslim fleet left Jeddah for Kamarān on the 11th Shawwāl (19 November A.D. 1515). (*C. F. B.*)

⁷ Professor P. Wittek has reminded me that al-Atrāk means the Mamelukes, while Rūmī is an Asia Minor Turk.



The expedition of Lopo Soares de Albergaria before Jeddah in 1517 (cf. pp. 50-51). The fortifications tally closely with the description on pp. 160-2
(From Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da Índia*)

Egyptian expedition arrived at Kamarān, but the Shaikh 'Āmir received no intelligence of them until they were at Djāzān. From Djāzān they sent an envoy (*kāsid*) to the Shaikh to inform him of their arrival, and that they were come to fight (*djihād*) the Frank; so they were desirous of support and assistance from the Shaikh in the way of victuals and money.¹

The latter, however, avoided giving the envoy a (direct) reply, so when they arrived at Kamarān they sent presents to the Sulṭān and his heir 'Abd al-Wahhāb at Zabīd, asking assistance for the business of the war (*djihād*) which they had in hand. It is said the Sulṭān wanted to assist them with money and provision on being advised by the Emir 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ba'dānī² to ensure himself against their malevolence (*yatakaffā sharra-hum*) through this means—al-Ba'dānī to bear on his own account the victuals, wheat, and raisins, by way of assistance to the Sulṭān. 'Umar al-Djabartī³ (on the contrary) advised the Sulṭān to abandon such an idea, but show no weakness (*dhull*) and they would do nothing, for they were confined to the sea and would not pass beyond it.

The Sulṭān accepted al-Djabartī's advice, avoided the envoy, and refused to send them anything. Indeed he wrote to his son 'Abd al-Wahhāb ordering him to hold back (*taḥyīr*) the grain and not to put to sea with cargoes for them,⁴ but in the direction of the Hejaz, and commanding him to take care not to leave Zabīd.

The Egyptians built a fort (*ḥiṣār*) and a mosque (*djabbānah*)⁵ in Kamarān, and there they prayed the 'Īd al-Adḥā, the Feast of the Sacrifices.

['Āmir sends horsemen to protect Hodeida from them, but its inhabi-

¹ Al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-Tālī* (Cairo, 1348), i. 279, says that 'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb was asked by the Circassians, i.e. Mamelukes, to assist them as they had come from Egypt to fight the Franks who were acting pirate (*yatakhaṭṭafūn*).

² i.e. of al-Ba'danah, a mountain near Ta'izz.

³ The Djabartīs are a famous family of 'ulema who had close connexions with Zaila'; from their name they must have come originally from the African side of the Red Sea. Cf. al-Shardjī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Khawāṣṣ* (Cairo, 1903), p. 195, who is actually discussing a family of Ta'izz.

⁴ Arabic: *wa-lā yashḥan fi 'l-baḥr ilai-him*. The sense is a little difficult.

⁵ The *Rariḥ al-Rūḥ*, Brit. Mus. MS. cit., f. 17b, says the Egyptians built a *dār*, tower-fort, and a *djabbānah*. Though al-'Arshī, *Bulūgh al-Marām* (Cairo, 1939), p. 422, states that *djabbānah* means a cemetery it is clearly applied to the cemetery mosque. Al-Khazradjī, *al-'Uḳūd al-La'lū'iyyah*, text, i. 43, speaks of building a *djabbānah*; cf. 'The Cemeteries of Tarīm', *Le Muséon* (Louvain, 1949), lxvii. 158, &c. Kamarān, according to the Bā Sandjalāh fragments, seems to have been destroyed by the Portuguese.

tants refuse the soldiers and their horses any provision (sabārah¹). The Egyptians send two or three grabs there to forage for grain, and destroy the town. They also remove timbers and house walls (durūb² buyūti-him), no doubt for use in Kamarān.³]

Year 923 H. (A.D. 1517) (46b)

In this year the Franks, God curse them, came from India to the port of Aden with thirty sailing-vessels, consisting of grabs and galliots, making demonstration of aid to the people of Aden⁴ against the Egyptians, and they destroyed nothing in the harbour. A party of them came ashore, then the Emir Mardjān⁵ met them on the coast and sent a splendid banquet to them at their ships. They demanded ship-captains (*rubbānīn*) to go with them to Jeddah, and the Emir Mardjān gave them a number of ship-captains, Syrians, against the will of the (said) captains.⁶ All this is (indeed) enough (to show) the wickedness of the Frank. They then went on to Jeddah and moored in its harbour, but the Emir Salmān was there at the head of an army of Turks and others. They had learned of his (the Frank's) coming to Jeddah and were ready to engage them. However, not one of the Franks landed on the coast at Jeddah; on the contrary, the Emir Salmān sought them out in a grab or two. When he got within range of them he fired at them

¹ Syn. *zād*, a word still in general use in South Arabia. Cf. E. V. Stace, *English-Arabic Vocabulary* (London, 1893), p. 132, *Rawḥ al-Rūḥ*; Brit. Mus. MS. laud., fols. 18a and 17b, *sabāru-hum min al-ṭa'ām wa-'l-'alaf* (their provision of grain and fodder).

² *Darb* must be taken in the Yemenite sense of 'wall' here. Ibn ʿIyās, v. 81, states that they built a fort (*ḥal'ah*) with towers (*burdj*) there.

³ Bā Fakih (fol. 37a) says the Egyptians fired 'stones' from their guns at Hodeida (cf. *al-Bark al-Yamānī*, pp. 423 and 471). The *Rawḥ al-Rūḥ*, fol. 58b, alludes to 'large stones for cannon' (*hidjārat al-madāfi' al-kibār*). Al-Djarmūzī (*infra*, p. 125) shows that the Arabs used stone cannon-balls against the Dutch pirates. Cf. D. Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom* (London, 1956), p. 17.

⁴ The Mukallā and Tarīm MSS. have corruptly *ظهر ابن السعد*.

⁵ According to *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 133, he was Mardjān b. 'Abdullāh al-Zāfirī (*ob.* 927 H. (A.D. 1521)). Such names as Mardjān are usually given to slaves, and al-Nabhānī, *Djānī' Karāmāt al-Awliyā'* (Cairo, 1911), i. 264, states that he was *min mamālīk 'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb*. The Egyptians had tried to take Aden, placing guns on Širah Island, &c.; it was this that inspired Emir Mardjān's relatively friendly attitude towards the Frank. Ulughkhānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46, has a full account of the Mameluke siege of Aden. They destroyed the walls on Širah Island.

⁶ A Yemeni informant gave the synonym *kaṭān al-sā'ī*, ship's captain, for *rubbān*. Cf., e.g., *Instructions nautiques*, i. 85b, *al-baḥrīyah fī ahl zamānī min al-rabābīn*.

with his guns, destroying two or three out of their ships. Then the gunner (*madāfiʿī*) put something in the powder (*bārūt*¹) so that the gun went out of action (*tughaiyar*), and the fire burned part of the grab where Salmān² was; it is said that the gunner was a Christian serving with Salmān—but Salmān executed the gunner and returned to Jeddah safe and sound. The Franks removed (*taraffaʿ*) from the port of Jeddah, returning in the direction of the Yemen.³ Then Salmān or one of his men followed them in a grab to the vicinity of al-Luḥaiyah (Loheia). Then they saved from the Franks a grab containing a number of Franks whom they brought back to Jeddah; then they set out with them to the Sultān, the Lord of Rūm. Some of the Franks (went to) the port of Aden, and the Emir Mardjān gave them water, &c., that they required, and ransomed some of the prisoners from them. Then they returned, unsuccessful, to Hurmūz, may God abandon them.⁴

Year 926 H. (A.D. 1520) (52a)

In this year Husain Bey arrived in command of five or six grabs, and coming down towards Zabīd he received news of the arrival of the Franks at al-ʿĀrah.⁵ So he went back with his troops to his grabs.

In this year, also, the Franks arrived with over twenty sailing-ships (*khashabah*), consisting of grabs, galleons (*ghaliyūn*), and galliots, among which was a very large galliot containing most of their provision and guns. They intended to arrive at Aden, but they happened to make their landfall⁶ at al-ʿĀrah, the wind being

¹ *Bārūt* is the normal form of the word in South Arabia; it has been noted by Wellsted.

² According to *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 200, Salmān died in 935 H. (A.D. 1528-9).

³ For a description of the fortifications of Jeddah see Appendix VI, p. 160.

⁴ See Note H, p. 170.

⁵ The *Tarīm* and *Mukallā* MSS. read al-Ghārah, but the only likely place for the Portuguese to make their landfall is the place known now as Rās al-ʿĀrah which when I visited it in 1940 and 1958 consisted mainly of brushwood huts. There is no port or shelter, dhows anchoring in the open roads fairly close inshore. Prior to 1914 it was a favourite place for gun-runners to land their cargoes as recounted by de Monfreid. Apart from earlier authors it is mentioned in al-Shardjī's *Ṭabakāt*, p. 194, the *Instructions nautiques*, i. 98a, &c., and in T. A. Shumovsky's index, &c.

⁶ A commoner form of *mandakh*, landfall, is *mantakh*. Both occur in the *Instructions nautiques* frequently but *natakh* is commoner, e.g. i, fol. 7a, *djamīʿ al-burūr wa-nadakhāt-hā*, and fol. 147b, an *urdjūzah*-poem on the *natakhāt* or landfalls. Cf. O. Löfgren, *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden* (Uppsala, 1936-50), gloss., p. 59; M. E. Gobée, 'Enkele termen bij de navigatie

Azyab (the monsoon wind blowing westwards), so they were unable to return to Aden. The large galliot foundered under them, so they transferred the lighter gear from it to the galliots, and abandoned it. They set out as they say, for Jeddah, but when, however, they had come close to it they received news that there were many troops in Jeddah, Turks (Atrāk), Rūmīs,¹ North Africans (Maghāribah), &c., and fear and cowardliness overcoming them, they turned back to Dahlak, remaining there until the return of the Shimāl (north monsoon wind)² again. They then returned from whence they had come, reaching Aden port in the month of Radjab, making a show of peaceful relations. So the Emīr Mardjān supplied them with water³ and provisions, and ransomed some of the prisoners from their hands. Then they set out for Hurmūz.⁴

Year 929 H. (A.D. 1522-3) (54b)

On Thursday, 9th of Rabī' II, the abandoned Frank, may God abandon him, came to the port of al-Shihr with about nine sailing-ships, galliots, and grabs, and, landing in the town on Friday, set to fighting a little after dawn. Not one of the people was able to withstand him; on the contrary they were horribly routed, and the Lord of the town (*Amīr al-balad*), the Emīr Muṭrān b. Maṣṣūr,⁵ God rest him, died for the faith. A long-range bullet (*bunduḡah*) struck him, and he fell where he stood. Among those who died for the faith in this encounter were the teacher, the pious Ya'kūb b. Šāliḥ al-Ḥuraidī, Aḥmad b. Ridwān, his brother Faḍl,⁶ and others

in gebruik in het dialect vom Djeddah', *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde* (Batavia, 1926), lxvi. 145. A Mahri said *mantakh* meant the place of entry of a port, another told me that *nattakh* meant 'to appear' of a ship, and Bin Djawhar at al-Mukallā said *antakh al-markab* meant *zahar al-markab*. *Andakhna 'l-markab al-sāhil* was explained as *ṣadamnā*.

¹ Mamelukes and Ottoman Turks.

² Shimāl is a season amongst the Šubaiḥīs commencing in 'Tishrīn al-Awwal. Cf. 'Notes on Šubaiḥī Territory, *Le Muséon* (Louvain, 1953), lx. i. 129.

³ The text has *māl*, but I propose to read *mā'* with the entry for the year 923 H. (A.D. 1517), *supra*.

⁴ See Note I, p. 170.

⁵ The name should perhaps be pointed Matrān. The *Tārīkh al-Shu'arā' al-Ḥadramiyīn* of 'Abdullāh . . . al-Sakḡāf (Cairo 1353 H.), i. 122, calls him *hākīm al-Shihr al-siyāsī* (the political governor of al-Shihr).

⁶ A fuller list of their names is given in the passage below. Cf. Muḥammad b. Hāshim, *Tārīkh al-Dawlat al-Kathīriyah* (Cairo, 1948), p. 41, for material on the Portuguese, including this incident.

besides, God rest them. The town was shamefully plundered, the Franks looting it first, then after them the musketeers (*rumāh*)¹ and the soldiers, and the hooligans of the town (*shayāfīn al-balad*), in consequence of which people (*khalā'ik*) were reduced to poverty.

On the night of the 13th of this month the abandoned (Frank) removed from the port of al-Shihr, making for Dahlak. During these days the Emir 'Aṭif² arrived from al-Raidah³ and took over law and order in the town (*ḥafiẓ al-balad*), and assumed the office of Emir, because, during these days, the Sulṭān⁴ was absent in Ḥadramawt; the Sulṭān (later) confirmed him in his position.

UNIDENTIFIED MANUSCRIPT IN SAIWŪN

In the year 929 H. (A.D. 1522-3), on Thursday, 9th of Rabi' II, the Frankish expedition (*tadjihīz*), may God abandon them, reached al-Shihr with about fourteen sailing-ships. When the Friday morning came he set to fighting and battle after dawn. The Frank issued forth to the town with his soldiers, plundered it and burned in it. On this occasion the Emir Muṭrān b. Maṣṣūr and others were slain. There were slain also the faḳīh, the shaikh⁵ Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Bal-Ḥādjdj Bā Faḍl, the shaikh⁵ Aḥmad b. Riḍwān Bā Faḍl, his brother Faḍl, and the faḳīh, the scholar, Ya'qūb b. Šāliḥ b. Raḥmah [*sic*] al-Ḥuraidi, and many people beside.⁶

¹ See Note J, p. 171.

² Elsewhere in the Tarīm MS. he is 'Aṭif b. 'Alī b. Daḥdah.

³ Al-Raidah is described by the Ḥadramī author Bā Ḥassān (Bodleian MS.) as 'kurā mutafarriḳah min madīnat al-Shihr 'alā naḥw thalāth marāhil' (separate villages about three stages from al-Shihr town). It is open and healthy with a temperate climate, has a large *ḥuṣn* fort said to have been constructed by three Arab kings of the Āl b. Iḳbāl, with three walls (*durūb*) of continuous construction, on the top of a broad mountain, containing four wells, the location of which he describes.

⁴ Sulṭān Badr Bū Ṭuwairiḳ. His ministers 'Aṭif and Muṭrān are discussed by b. Ḥāshim, op. cit., p. 36.

⁵ i.e. belonging to the families known as Mashāyikh. There are Bā Faḍl Mashāyikh in al-Shihr and a famous tomb of the ancestor of the branch of the family settled there. Presumably not fighting men, these persons were nevertheless massacred. In the Bā Faḍl family tree shown me by Rahaiyam it says: 'Al-shaikh Aḥmad al-shahīd kūtīl shahīd-an bi-ma'rakat al-Shihr al-shahīrah waḳt dukhūl al-Ifrandj' (the shaikh Aḥmad the martyr was martyred at the famous battle of al-Shihr at the time of the entry of the Frank). This shaikh is Aḥmad Riḍwān. Cf. *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 136.

⁶ See Note K, p. 171.

TĀRĪKH AL-SHIḤRĪ

Year 934 H. (A.D. 1527-8) (65b)

In this year in this month (Djumādā I), the pious faḳīh 'Umar b. Muḥammad¹ al-'Amūdī came to (al-Shiḥr?), accompanied by a party of the faḳīhs of Ḳaidūn, his children, and his relatives, intending to join the Holy War (*djihād*). This was because the abandoned Frank had arrived at al-Mishḳāṣ with about fourteen sailing-vessels, and the people of al-Shiḥr were afraid that he might come there, but God turned him away from al-Shiḥr.²

Year 935 H. (A.D. 1528-9) (66a)

In this year came news that about fourteen of the Frankish ships had been broken up by a hurricane (*tūfān*). From these came a number of Muslim prisoners who had been with them, safe and sound³

On Sunday, 19th Djumādā, a grab of the Franks, may God abandon them, arrived at the port of al-Shiḥr, encountering by chance a vessel containing a cargo of madder (*fuwwah*)⁴ and other goods, making for India, and took it. Later its owner ransomed it from them in Ḥairīdj⁵ for 1,800 ashrafīs

¹ For the 'Amūdī Mashāyikh of Ḳaidūn see 'Materials for South Arabian History. I', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London, 1950), XIII. ii. 302 ff. Many of these shaikhs, in contradistinction to the Bā Faḍl, still bear arms. To the sources cited might be added *al-Sanā' al-Bāḥir*, where obituaries of 'Amūdī shaikhs of the tenth/sixteenth century appear.

² This entry alludes to the voyage of Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo in Jan.-Feb. 1528. He left Goa with twenty ships, sailed to Socotra, and split his force into three squadrons. Some of his ships visited Qishn; a plan to go to al-Shiḥr came to nothing (Barros, IV. i. 10). (C. F. B.)

³ Antonio de Miranda's fleet mentioned under 934 H. ran into a storm, but only one ship's boat (*batel*) seems to have been captured by the Moors of Gujarat. In this year, however, the fleet of the new Governor, Nuno da Cunha, lost four ships, including the flagship, on the outward voyage from Portugal. This fleet sacked Mombasa in 1528 as recounted below. (C. F. B.)

⁴ A Ḥuraidāh MS. of the *Manāḳib Bā Ḳushair* speaks of a cargo of madder from Ḥairīdj to India. The *Bughyat al-Fallāḥin* states that madder has to be grown in time to catch al-Mūsīm al-Daimānī, i.e. the trade-fleet which comes at this season.

⁵ Ḥairīdj seems the correct vocalization. It figures in the maps of Bittner and Tomashek, op. cit., plate xi, and is still known. According to Saiyid 'Alawī b. Ṭāḥir, *K. al-Shāmil* (photocopy in S.O.A.S. Library), p. 116, it is a *bandar fī Wādī 'l-Masilah* on its western side. It is frequently mentioned in the Ḥadramī chronicles, but seems now to have lost its importance. Cf. *al-Nisbah ila 'l-Mawāḍi' wa-'l-Buldān*, in 'Two Sixteenth-century Arabian Geographical Works' B.S.O.A.S., p. 264.

In this year in the month of Sha'bān news arrived from al-Sawāḥil that a reinforcement of the Franks had arrived from al-Rūm¹ and taken Mombasa, destroying it greatly.

Year 936 H. (A.D. 1529-30) (68a)

[The author here quotes extensively from *Bā Sandjalāh*,² describing Turkish operations in the southern Yemen, then from 'Abdullāh Bā Makhramah.³ The Turks set out for India but lost an important vessel containing the big guns and supplies off Mocha. After reaching Sharmah they were turned back by the Azyab monsoon. Muṣṭafā Bairam and Ṣafar then entered al-Shiḥr roads. Ṣafar, with the permission of Sulṭān Badr, entered the town with a robe of investiture and robes (of honour) for his Emirs.]

In the month of Djumādā I or II a vessel from Batticalā⁴ arrived at al-Shiḥr. In this vessel there was a man of the Franks who asked for safe-conduct for himself, claiming to be a merchant come to trade. He was given safe-conduct and bought and sold. On the morning (*ṣabāḥīyah*)⁵ of the Monday, 19th of the month of Rādjab, a grab of the Frank arrived containing a number of them along with a party of Muslim prisoners. They asked for safe-conduct to come forth to the town, the Sulṭān granted this to them, and they came forth and bought and sold. Then they set off to join their fellows on the African coast (Barr A'djam).⁶

In this year on the 11th Sha'bān, about seven sailing-ships of the Frank came to Aden, and discussions on a truce took place between them and the Lord of Aden, on the basis that the trade fleet (*al-mūsīm*) coming from it (Aden) and going to it should be under safe-conduct, with the exception of that bound for, or hailing

¹ The application of al-Rūm to Portugal or Europe is a little curious, especially as a Rūmī means a Turk. Cf. p. 48, n. 7.

² This author is discussed *supra*, p. 38.

³ See p. 38 for this author.

⁴ Beekingham proposes this identification for Bā Dakal: 'now Bhatkal, just South of the 14th parallel, on the West coast of India. It was one of the most important ports of Kanara and must have been well known at least to all the Gulf Arabs as it was a great centre of the horse trade.' The name occurs frequently in the *Instructions nautiques*, e.g. i. 60b, 61a, as Bā Daklā in ii. 32a and 54b, and also in O. Löfgren, *Arabische Texte*, i. 63, with a slight variation of spelling, and Shumovsky, op. cit., text fol. 105^r 9.

⁵ One says *Ana arūḥi kull yawm ṣabāḥīyah* (I go every day in the morning) and *ṣabāḥīyah masā'* (morning and evening).

⁶ This is not the Persian coast.

from, al-Dair and Gogo,¹ for which there should be no safe-conduct. Then when they decided to return, a number of them remained behind, servants (*mahātirah*)² and others, about forty. They stayed in Aden and took to going in ceremonial procession³ with the soldiers on the Friday with their muskets,⁴ swords, and other weapons, and with their (own) play (*zīnah*).⁵ This is an act disapproved and reprehensible which the Lord of Aden did. The faḳīhs found fault with him for it, but he did not listen. The reason why he perpetrated such an act was his fear of the Turk (Rūmī) (entering) his town, but upon my life, his judgement erred, the measure was a bad one, and he angered his Lord, the Exalted and Mighty. (Concluded.)⁶

Year 937 H. (A.D. 1530-1) (68b)

On Sunday at dawn on the 4th of the month of Muḥarram, Muṣṭafā Bairam, Ṣafar, and their company left al-Shiḥr.⁷ This was after they had drawn the attention of Sulṭān Badr to one of their ships which was coming on after them, with their children and women, and Salmān's children and servants, on board. They advised the Sulṭān that if they put in to al-Shiḥr they should stay (there) under the Sulṭān's care. It did so happen that the said ship put in to al-Mukallā, so the Sulṭān sent them camels and camel-litters (*shakādhif*)⁸ and brought them under his surveillance in the town (al-Shiḥr).

¹ The margin of the Tarīm MS. corrects this to جوه, Goa. Beckingham suggests Diu and Gogha, the latter on the Kathiawar coast. For Gogha, cf. *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 60a, and 'Two Sixteenth Century Arabian Geographical Works', loc. cit., p. 275, Djūdja of Djuzrāt.

² I have taken this word in the Turkish sense, following Redhouse, as being a plural of *mihtār*. Cf. al-Makrizī, *K. al-Sulūk*, i. 294 footnote, and Hobson-Jobson, *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases*, edit. H. Yule and A. C. Burnell (London, 1903), p. 790, a person belonging to the sweeper class. Silvestre de Sacy, op. cit., reports it also from Chardin and Nahravāli in the sense of attendant. Cf. Sakhāwī *al-Daw' al-Lāmi'* (Cairo, 1354 H.), i. 231, for a person, *mihtār* in the *Tashkikhānah* (dining-room?) of an Atabeg merchant.

³ Arabic: *yazaffūn*. See *Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramawt* (London, 1951), pp. 33-34. This procession to the mosque on Fridays might be compared with that of the Imāms of Ṣan'ā'. ⁴ Cf. Note J, p. 171.

⁵ I have rendered *zīnah* in its sense today. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, op. cit. iv. 115, has a question relating to 'Aiyām al-Zīnah'. ⁶ See Note L, p. 172.

⁷ *Al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 203, remarks laconically that this year Bahram al-Rūmī, *tawwah fi 'l-Shiḥr* (moored in al-Shiḥr).

⁸ A *shakādhif* is a women's camel-litter. It is also known in N. Arabia, cf. R. Burton, *Pilgrimage . . .* (London, 1893), ii. 69. I have not seen these litters on the southern coast, but only in areas such as Baiḥān.

On Thursday, 8th of the month, there arrived a grab of the Franks who were staying in Aden and it fell in with a vessel near the port of al-Shiḥr, which they looted. Then early on Friday they encountered by chance a large dhow (*djalabah*) a little before al-Hāmī.¹ Knowing that it was Frankish they (the dhow crew) fought with it and three of the Muslims were killed by gunshot. The accursed (Frank), however, gained nothing from them and made off frustrated. His intention evidently was to make for India to warn of the coming of the Turks (Arwām). (About²) eight of them remained in Aden.

[*The Turks return to al-Shiḥr,*³ but as it is the wrong monsoon (*Azyab*) for going on to India they are forced to remain there and abandon attempts to proceed for the moment. The Turks lend the Sultān a hundred men to assist him in his wars in the upper Wādī Ḥadramawt.]

On Sunday night, 13th Rabī' II, Muṣṭafā voyaged from the port of al-Shiḥr bound for India, for fear of the arrival of the Frank, but those he had sent with Sultān Badr remained, they and Ṣafar Salmān, in the camp (*maḥaṭṭah*) of the Sultān (in Wādī Ḥadramawt)

On Thursday, 15th of the same month (Djumādā I), a grab of the Frank arrived, and, entering the port of al-Shiḥr, fell in with a number of vessels arrived from Diu. It wanted to seize what was in them, but Ṣafar Salmān and a party of Turks put out to sea in its direction. They made towards it, but when it saw them it turned tail. Next day, namely Friday, news came that this grab had met a vessel from India at al-Hāmī and seized it. So the Sultān⁴ dispatched a party of Turks (Arwām) with Ṣafar as leader (*muḥaddam*), and they put to sea in a grab along with a party of the Mahrah in an open skiff (*tarrād*) to seek it out, but when (the Frank) learned that they had formed an expedition (*tadjah-hazū*)⁵ against him, he took the captain (*nākhudhā*) and navigator

¹ See Note M, p. 172.

² Only the Mukallā MS. has 'about'.

³ *Al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 203, says Muṣṭafā Bairam arrived in al-Shiḥr with the famous guns Lailā wa-Madjnūn, though he puts this event in 938 H. (A.D. 1531-2) which must surely be wrong. The statement is also found in Bā Fakīh al-Shiḥrī's chronicle.

⁴ The Sultān after operations in Ḥadramawt had also returned to al-Shiḥr.

⁵ Ḥuraiḍah MS.: *wa-lammā 'arafa anna-hum tadjhiz*.

(*mu'allim*)¹ with him and, as the expedition drew near, he fled. They gave chase to him but were unable to make up on him, so they² returned with the vessel³ safe and sound, none of its cargo being lost.

Towards the close of Djumādā II news came from Dāyirin⁴ and elsewhere that the Franks, may God abandon them, had assembled at Goa,⁵ the well-known island, with a strength of about 300 vessels. Then they assembled (*taḥaṣṣal*)⁶ with their company at Chaul⁷ to set out for Diu,⁸ may God the Exalted destroy⁹ them. On Sunday night,¹⁰ 15th of Radjab, Ṣafar Salmān voyaged from the port of al-Shiḥr making for India. On Monday, 16th, news came from al-Mishkāṣ that a band from Ḥaṣwail¹¹ which is al-Mishkāṣ, had put to sea at night in sambooks (*sanābik*), and captured a grab of the Franks which had been acting the pirate (*yatakhattaf*)¹² against al-Mishkāṣ and its neighbourhood. They killed its complement of Franks. This grab is that which I mentioned in the first place as having made for the port of al-Shiḥr and which the Turks put to sea to give chase to it, but it took to its heels . . .

At the close of the above month (Sha'bān) news came from the

¹ Mukallā informants said the *mu'allim* is the same as the *nākhudhā* and *rubbān*, describing him as '*induh al-kiyās*, '*induh amr al-sā'i wa-taṣrif-hā wa-l-humūl wa-tadbīr al-sā'i* (he does the astronomical observations, he has command of the ship and control of it, and the lading and management of the ship). He knows the stars and *al-falak*, astronomy. Cf. *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 48b, *dhakara lī mu'allim min ahl taḥt al-riḥ*, and again, *ma'ālimah taḥt al-riḥ*.

² The MSS. differ slightly here, some using singulars and others plurals.

³ Mukallā MS. has 'vessels'.

⁴ All MSS. have this reading; the vocalization is conjectural. I have not identified the place. It is probably just a corrupt form of Diu.

⁵ Mukallā MS. حرة; Tarim MS. كوة; Ḥuraidāh probably حوة; D. Lopes,

Extractos, p. 12 كوة, but it is certainly Goa.

⁶ *Taḥaṣṣal*, 'to make ready' (*Glossaire Daḥinois* (Leiden, 1920-42)), but Raḥaiyām says it means 'to collect'.

⁷ All MSS. have حويل but Chaul must be intended. Cf. Lopes, *Extractos*, for the form شيول. Danvers, op. cit., i. 412, gives their assembly place as Shial Bet, cf. text *infra*, Siyāl Bet.

⁸ Text 'al-Dair', but it can only be Diu.

⁹ Mukallā MS. *yadmur-hum*; Ḥuraidāh *yubid-hum*.

¹⁰ By Arab reckoning Sunday commences at 6 p.m. of our Saturday. This must be taken into account in working out correspondences in dates.

¹¹ This is how the name was pronounced to me, but the *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 168b, has Ḥaṣwīl. The Ḥuraidāh text, probably incorrectly, reads حوصويل. Cf. Ibn al-Mudjāwir, op. cit. ii. 270, *mandakh al-Ḥuṣwain*.

¹² See p. 42, n. 2.

neighbouring territories to Diu¹ that Muṣṭafā had entered safely and that the Franks, may God abandon them, had arrived at his heels about seven days later with their expedition (*tadhīz*), namely about 300 vessels, some of which contained lime (*nūrah*) with the intention, if they did not take Diu, of building at Siyāl Bet (Bait Shāldjūh),² which is a place near Diu.³ At Siyāl Bet they found about 2,000 of the troops (*djund*), and coming down on them, engaged with them and slew them to the last man. About 500 of the Frank were slain. Then they embarked on their sailing-ships and set out for Diu; but God gave the Muslims victory over them and they slew 1,500 of them, not counting others, Christian converts (*muntashirah*) and followers, Malabar, &c.⁴ Many people they took prisoner, sinking about forty of their sailing-ships and capturing (another) twenty,⁵ so that the Franks withdrew from them in broken rout. Then from their town (*balad*) of Goa news of this kept coming and spread abroad—God be praised for that. At the close of the said month one of the Frankish grabs in which there were some Muslims arrived, and this news was confirmed. They wished to discover some means of taking off their compatriots who were in Aden, for the Lord of Aden had acknowledged the sovereignty of (*khaṭab li*) the Sulṭān Sulaimān b. ‘Uthmān, Lord of al-Rūm, entering into submission to him.⁶ So the Franks gave up all hope of aid and friendship from the Lord of Aden. (The latter) when he perceived them seeking some way of resistance

¹ Text ‘al-Dair’, but again it must be Diu. Cf. Silvestre de Sacy, *La Foudre du Yémen*, p. 437.

² Gujarati for Jackal Island. This refers to the famous Portuguese attack on Diu, of Jan.-Mar. A.D. 1531. It adds to the Portuguese accounts, from which it was not possible to identify the precise island. Barros calls it Ilha de Bet only and there were three islands which might possibly have been intended. The Portuguese fleet had 199 warships, but over 400 vessels if supply-ships are included. (*C. F. B.*)

³ Text ‘al-Dair’, but the Turkish commander, Muṣṭafā, went to Diu, clearly the correct reading. (*C. F. B.*)

⁴ The Portuguese give no figures for casualties. (*C. F. B.*)

⁵ See Note N, p. 172.

⁶ The Portuguese bear out the change of allegiance by the ruler of Aden after he had used the threat of Portuguese help to drive away Muṣṭafā. Barros, iv. 4. xvii, and Castanheda, vii. 34, both say that the Portuguese left at Aden, and some others who had come to trade, were killed by the ‘King’. They say nothing of their being put in charge of musketry, though to judge by what happened on other occasions this is very likely. (*C. F. B.*) Bā Fakīh al-Shihri, fol. 67b, describes the Turkish siege of Aden with a tower (*burdj*) which they had constructed.

(*ih̥tiyāl-hum li-'l-ḥarb*) ordered them to be put in irons, so they were manacled and thrown into prison. Later most of them professed Islām, and he dispersed them amongst the forts (*ḥuṣn*) and mountains of the Yemen to serve as musketeers (*li-khidmat al-bandakah*).¹ (This concludes what the faḳīh 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar Bā Makhramah said.)

The faḳīh 'Abdullāh Bā Sandjalāh said:

When the Emir Muṣṭafā Bairam reached India he received great honour at the hands of the Sulṭān of Gujerat (Kudjrāt), i.e. the Sulṭān Bahādur Shāh son of the Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh. He accorded² him the title (*khiṭāb*) of Rūmī Khān as is the custom of the Sulṭāns of India, and on the Khawādjā Ṣafar Salmān he bestowed the title of Khudāwand Khān. Muṣṭafā subsequently opposed him when the Mogul Sulṭān Humāyūn Lord of Agra (Akrah) and Delhi attacked him (Bahādur Shāh) taking all Gujerat, and the Sulṭān Bahādur Shāh fled to Chitor (Shitūr), then to Mandūwain,³ then to Chāmpāner⁴ (Shab al-Nīr), taking with him some of his treasures, though he left most behind. Then he entered Diu⁵ and made peace with the Franks, building them a fort (*kūt*) at Diu contiguous with the sea.⁶ Muṣṭafā Bairam had parted from him from Chitor; he had audience with Sulṭān Humāyūn the Moghul who was pleased with him, and placed him near himself, setting out for Diu with him. Muṣṭafā's family and children⁷ were in Diu, but he (Sulṭān Bahādur?) sent him his children, so he took them and retired from Diu. The Khawādjā Ṣafar Salmān and his men did not, however, mutiny against him, but stuck to the support of Bahādur until the Franks murdered him, as will be seen.⁸ Bahādur

¹ I am not quite certain of this rendering. Could it mean that the Portuguese were used as artificers?

² D. Lopes, *Extractos*, p. 22, states that he gave Diu to Rūmī Khān and Surat to Khudāwand.

³ Manduwain, Beckingham suggests, is Mandeshwar, 24°4' N. by 75°5' E., in Gwalior state; in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, Mandasaur. A famous battle was fought here in March 1535 which is later than this entry in the chronicle, but it is plain that Bā Faḳīh is anticipating later events. Ulughkhānī, op. cit., p. 233, speaks in this context of al-Mandū under the annals for 941 H. (A.D. 1534-5).

⁴ *Al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 92, has الشبانير; Ulughkhānī, op. cit., p. 234, چانپانير, &c.

⁵ The texts have, as usual, 'al-Dair'.

⁶ Tarīm and Mukallā MSS. *fa-ttaṣal bi-'l-baḥr*, but Ḥuraiḍah (70a) *muttaṣil bi-'l-baḥr*.

⁷ By the term 'family' his wives are obviously meant. It is almost implied that he was bought off from attacking Diu by having his family returned to him.

⁸ See pp. 75-76.

continued to fight the Mogul for a time and God granted him victory, the war languished and his power returned to him.

Year 938 H. (A.D. 1531-2) (71a)

In the latter days of Djumādā II an open skiff (*tarrād*)¹ arrived from al-Mishkāṣ containing a man of the Franks and a cargo of rice, &c. He asked for safe-conduct (*amān*) and bought and sold.

At this same time news came from al-Mishkāṣ that Aḥmad b. Djirdān² and Sa'id b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Afrār³ had assembled the tribes of Mahrah, giving out that they would attack al-Shiḥr, but Muḥammad b. Ṭaw'arī⁴ did not give them assistance. Throughout this time the inhabitants of al-Shiḥr remained in the greatest trepidation,⁵ (what) between Frank, Mahrī, and Badawī,⁶ for current rumour abroad had it that, during these days, a party of the Āl 'Abd al-'Azīz, about 200 strong, had gone forth from al-Sūr,⁷ where they were making for not being known. The people of al-Shiḥr had fled to⁸ Tabālah⁹ and al-Ghail, because the merchants and others had transferred most of their valuables (*athkāl*) there

On the evening of the 26th of Djumādā II,¹⁰ a grab of the Franks appeared before the port of al-Shiḥr to blockade the sea-route.

¹ For a discussion of the *tarrād* see p. 137.

² B. Djirdān was said by the Mahrīs employed at Dhahran by Aramco to be the headman, 'ākil Bait Lasad, in Ḥaṣwail. I assume therefore that it is in the family that the hereditary office of 'ākil rests, seemingly up to the present day. Muḥ. b. Hāshim, op. cit., p. 38, alludes to a Muḥ. b. Aḥmad b. Djirdān in Tarīm, but I cannot think he was of the Ḥaṣwail family.

³ See Note O, p. 173.

⁴ Ṭaw'arī is stated by W. Hein and D. H. Müller, *Mehri . . . Texte*, pp. 123 and 163, to be the founder of the Sulṭānic house of Qishn. Muḥ. b. Hāshim, *Tārikh*, p. 62, refers to the Mahrah led by 'Umar b. Ṭaw'arī in 977 H. (A.D. 1569-70). I was told that Ṭaw'arī used to be in al-Shiḥr where there are still Mahrī families such as Āl Kīrainūn, and in al-Mukallā such as Āl Mihairī.

⁵ *Al-khawf*, better rendered as 'insecurity'.

⁶ By 'Badawī' probably the Nahd tribes are intended. Cf. Muḥ. b. Hāshim, *Tārikh*, p. 40.

⁷ Al-Sūr lies west of Hainin in the main channel of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, in a Nahdī area. It is marked on H. von Wissmann's map of *Part of the Aden Protectorate*, recently published by the Royal Geographical Society. In the same year the Sulṭān was fighting Nahd in this district of Ḥaḍramawt.

⁸ The Tarīm and Mukallā MSS. have *ḡara'a 'alā*, explained to me by one of the Dhahran Mahrīs as *tawāḡafa 'alā* (to stop), but the Ḥuraidāh MS. has *faza'a 'alā*.

⁹ Tabālah, north of al-Shiḥr on the road to Ḥaḍramawt, is known for its hot springs and coco-nut plantations.

¹⁰ Mukallā MS., 16th for 26th, and next para., 17th for 27th.

Towards the end of Sunday night, the 27th (of Djumādā II), there arrived Sulaimān b. Abī Bakr Bā Hibrī,¹ a follower and supporter of the 'Amūdī,² at the head of about 150 men consisting of Bedouin, at Tabālah. Some places there they were able to loot, but others defended themselves against them. This took place when many goods had come to Tabālah belonging to (merchants) arrived from Jeddah and moored³ (in al-Shiḥr), these consisting of cloth (*djūkh*), quicksilver (*zi'bak*), coral (*mardjān*), &c. The reason why they had brought the said goods to Tabālah was the lack of security for them from the Frank at al-Shiḥr . . .

On the morning of the afore-mentioned Sunday, the Frankish grab of which I spoke began to give chase to a vessel which had appeared from India from Batticalā (Bā Daḳal). The two (vessels) came up with one another and an artillery and musketry duel took place between them. Then the Franks fired down a couple of charges of powder (*ramyatain min bārūt*) on to the vessel of the Muslims from the mast (*daḳal*),⁴ so that their position weakened and, after a number of them had been killed, they surrendered. Some of them, about twelve, (although) they had bullet wounds, threw themselves into the sea.

¹ In the unidentified MS. of the late Saiyid 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubaidullāh there is mention of an attack on Tabālah in the previous year 937 H. (A.D. 1530-1) by Sulaimān b. Abī Bakr Bā Hibrī in which four men were killed and there was looting from strangers (*aghrāb*) (or grabs?) moored there (presumably at al-Shiḥr). The writer adds: 'Wa-kān al-nās yankulūna amwāla-hum ilai-hā min bandar al-Shiḥr, khawf-an min al-Ifrandj' (the inhabitants were transferring their goods to it from al-Shiḥr port, for fear of the Frank). Compare this with the situation in Burūm, p. 167. Bā Hibrī is the *muḳaddam* of Saibān.

² The 'Amūdīs (cf. p. 54, n. 1) had, and indeed still have, considerable power and influence in the Daw'an and 'Amd districts. There is a long tradition of conflict between them and the Kathirī Sultāns, which can be perceived throughout Bā Faḳīh's chronicles, and read in summary in b. Hāshim's history. Their power, as opposed to the temporal authority of the Kathirīs, was 'spiritual'. With the Saiyids the Kathirīs had at first no alliance, but later they seem to have found interests in common. Some 'Amūdīs are also bitter enemies of the Saiyids.

³ The Arabic *tawwāh* was said by a Mahrī informant to mean *ṭaraḥ al-markab*, so that it is *muraṣṣī/murassī fi 'l-bandar* (anchored in the harbour). One can say *ṭaraḥ fi 'l-sāhil*, but the unidentified Saiwūn MS. alludes to an English vessel which *ṭaraḥ 'alā Burūm*. The *Instructions nautiques* has, i, fol. 84b, *al-ṭarḥah*, and, fol. 124a, *maṭāriḥ*, and, fol. 61b, *واطرح الى الصباح وادخل*.

⁴ The second mast some craft have behind the *daḳal* is called *ḳalmī*. Nowadays a sailing-ship is sometimes called *markab bā shirā'*. At Dhahran, 'Umar b. al-Faḳīh al-Muḳaddam cited, as types of craft, *bū daḳlah* and *bū shatrah*, the latter being strong (*ḳarwī*).

On Friday morning, 2nd of the month of Radjab, there appeared a vessel from India and the Frankish grab made toward it, but a number of those of the Turks (Arwām), North Africans (Maghāri-bah), and others moored (*mutawwihūn*)¹ in al-Shiḥr embarked in small craft to cut between it and the Batticalá² vessel.³ As it (the Frankish grab) saw them approach it turned back from the vessel toward which it was making, abandoning the Batticalá vessel and taking to its heels. This happened after it had taken a very little out of the Batticalá vessel³ when it had seized possession of it . . .

On Thursday, 21st of the same month (Sha'bān), seven sailing-ships of the Frank arrived at al-Shiḥr port and seized the vessel of Yūsuf al-Turkī⁴ after he had taken on a cargo⁵ of a quantity of articles of merchandise going from Jeddah to India, such as lead (*raṣāṣ*), coral (*mardjān*), quicksilver (*zi'baḳ*), cloth (*djūkh*), &c.⁶ As for the rest of the vessels (lying in al-Shiḥr roads), some were scuttled (*bawwak*)⁷ by their crews, while others they ransomed.⁸ Amongst those scuttled was Ṣafar al-Dīn's grab which had arrived from Diu,⁹ for (its) captain scuttled it hard by the shore; part of it sank below water, but most of it¹⁰ remained sticking up, it being heavily laden with madder (*fuwwah*), copper (*naḥās*), lead (*raṣāṣ*), &c. When Sunday came the Franks prepared to board the vessel with intent to burn it. One of their grabs put in to the shore, sending out a sambook party. They went to the grab to set it on

¹ See p. 62, n. 3.

² Tarīm MS. *وبين المركب بادقل*; Mukallā MS. *وبين مركب بادقل*.

³ This must be the Batticalá vessel of the previous paragraph.

⁴ The Portuguese attack on shipping at al-Shiḥr is described by Barros, iv. 4. xix, and Castanheda, viii. 50. Yūsuf al-Turkī appears in both versions as the name of a ship, *Cufturca* (Barros) and *Çafeturca* (Castanheda). The Portuguese commander was Manoel de Vasconcelos. Barros seems to imply that he had two galliots and eight brigantines, Castanheda merely says he went to al-Shiḥr with some brigantines. (C.F.B.) Bā Fakīh under the chronicle for the year 951 H. (A.D. 1544-5) speaks of Yūsuf al-Turkī as a slave of Sulṭān Badr, which would seem to settle the point.

⁵ See Note P, p. 173.

⁶ In the single volume of Bā Makhramah's *Fatāwī* I saw in Dathīnah (cf. R. B. Serjeant and E. Wagner, 'A Sixteenth-century Reference to Shahrī Dialect at Zūfār', *B.S.O.A.S.* (London, 1959), xxii. i. 128), the question occurs concerning 'a man who deposited cloth with another man from Diu, for example to Bandar Aden' (radjul awda'a ākhar bazz-an min al-Diyū mathal-an ilā Bandar 'Adan). This was sold in exchange for madder and cloth (*fuwwah wa-djūkh*).

⁷ The *Tādj al-'Arūs* says *bākat al-safīnah* means *ghariḳat*.

⁸ The texts have *istafakkū* except the Mukallā MS., which has *istaghallū*.

⁹ Only the Tarīm MS. reads 'Diu' here.

¹⁰ The texts have here *غالبه*, perhaps better read *غالبه*.

fire while they brought their guns to bear from many of their grabs against the Muslims in the direction of the shore. This took place after the *nākhūdḥah* of the Turkish (Rūmī) grab ḥad made preparations on shore, bringing up his guns in an effort to strike back at them. He went out, I mean the Turkish *nākhūdḥah*, to the grab accompanied by a party from the (said) grab,¹ but when the Franks who had boarded it so as to burn it saw them, they threw themselves into the sea, and the Muslims seized their sambook. The artillery engagement carried on until night. Two of the Muslims on shore were killed by gunfire, namely Muḥarram Bā Mukhaitār² and a man from Aden, but the resolution of the Muslims to fight back at them was strengthened . . .

On Saturday, at the close of Sha'bān, the abandoned Frank removed from the port of al-Shiḥr after the shipowners had ransomed from him their ships of which he had taken possession in the port, but for Yūsuf al-Turkī's ship he would accept no ransom, but sailed away taking it along with him.

On Thursday, 12th of Ramaḍān, four galliots of the Frank, apart from cargo-vessels (*mismāriyāt*),³ arrived in the port, taking possession of the remaining vessels of al-Shiḥr lying in the harbour.⁴ The Turkish (Rūmī) *nākhūdḥah* mentioned above was the means of deliverance of the town from them, for he engaged them vigorously with the guns, and had it not been for the authorities (*arbāb al-dawlah*)⁵ the Frank would have been unable to seize any part of the port. This was because they displayed friendship toward the Frank, forbidding the Turk to fight with them, but he would not leave off,⁶ so they threw his servants (*mahātīrah*)⁷ into prison, (even) beating some, and removed part of the gear ('*udad*'),⁸ but the town was greatly agitated at their action, the Muslims were grieved thereby, and great horror was felt. This, all of it, was because they supposed that it would be something to please the

¹ The Mukallā MS. has 'al-'Arab' here, probably wrongly.

² So the Tarīm and Ḥuraidah MSS.; the Mukallā MS. has *بن مخسار*, the Bā Ṣurrah MS. *با مختار*. To this day there is still a *fakhidḥah*, a family branch, of Āl Bā Mukhtār in al-Shiḥr and al-Mukallā.

³ See Note Q, p. 174.

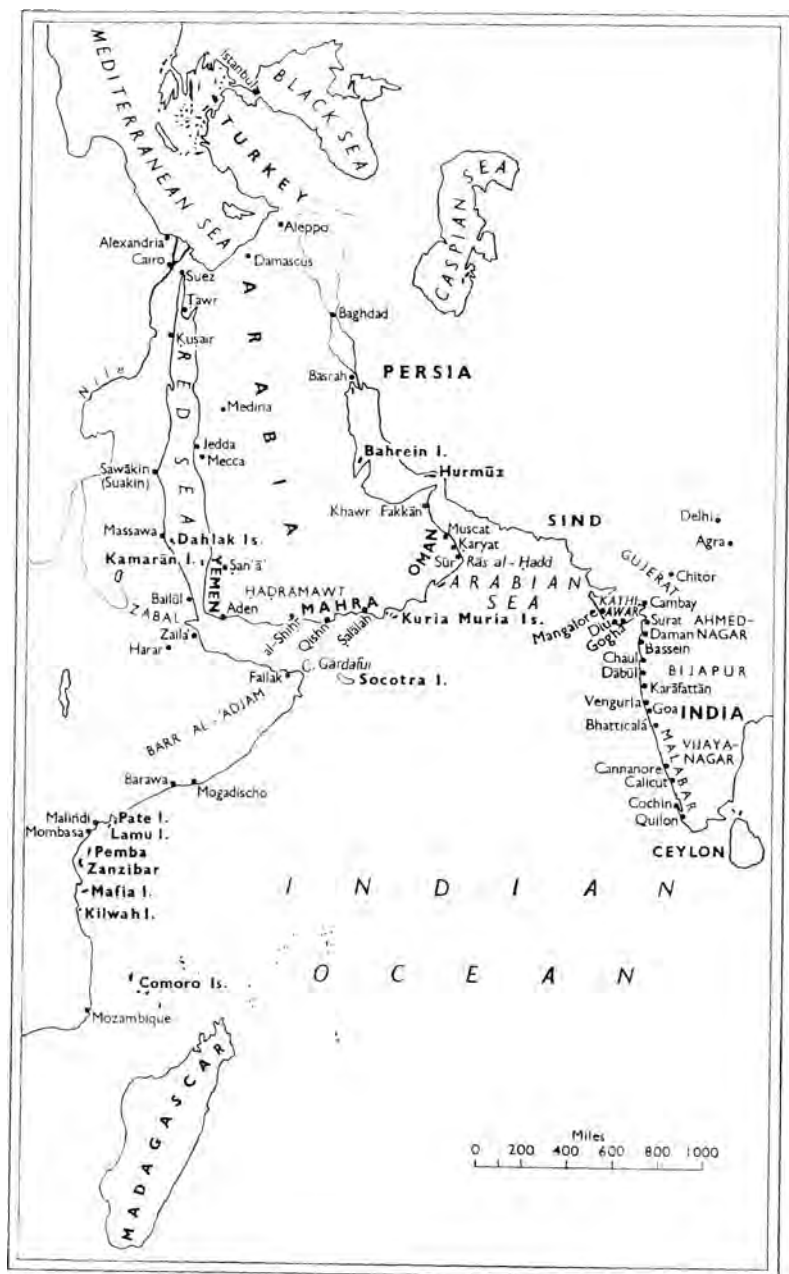
⁴ The second Portuguese visit to al-Shiḥr was that of Antonia de Saldanha, with ten ships. Barros confirms that the local ruler was conciliatory, but says nothing of the Turkish captain's resistance. (C.F.B.)

⁵ The word *dawlah* could mean Sultān.

⁶ Ḥuraidah MS. *فلم ينته*; Mukallā MS. *فلم يتتبه*.

⁷ Cf. p. 56, n. 2.

⁸ Munitions or parts of the ship such as the rudder, &c.? Cf. p. 120.



MAP 2. The littoral of the Indian Ocean

Franks, a means of *rapprochement* with them, but nothing of the sort! Neither the Franks, the Turk, nor the Muslims are pleased with them, and 'There is no power or strength but in God'.¹ On Saturday afternoon, 10th Ramaḍān, they passed on from the port, returning to India, may God abandon and destroy them.

Year 939 H. (A.D. 1532-3) (76a)

On the Friday morning of the new moon of the month of Ramaḍān a grab of the Frank arrived at al-Shiḥr harbour, and on the evening of that day news came in from Burūm² that fourteen craft (*kiṭ'ah*)³ of the Frank had passed by Maifa'.⁴

On Thursday, 7th of the month of Ramaḍān, three grabs of them returned to al-Shiḥr harbour. This was because they had wanted to take on water at Maifa' but had been prevented (from doing so), as they were prevented also at Burūm and al-Mukallā; but when they reached al-Shiḥr they procured all they wanted in the way of water and other things beside. The rest of the grabs, seven in number, came back after them, making ten (in all) in the harbour. Then after a couple of days there arrived two galliots and four grabs, bringing up their numbers to about sixteen craft. They had intended to land in the town (*balad*), but on learning that it had been emptied of goods (*māl*), and that neither goods nor women now remained, and hearing also that it contained cavalry to the number of nearly eighty, and soldiers, Bedu and archers (*rumāh*), as well as others beside, they abandoned (the idea of) landing there, and between them and the Sulṭān conversations took place about a truce (*muṣālahah*). They wrote him a document (*khatt*) to the effect that ('*alā an*) he should send an envoy on his own behalf to their captain (*kanbuṭān*) along with a present, and they would complete the *pourparler* with him and conclude with

¹ Koran.

² This small fishing village Burūm or Barūm, west of al-Mukallā, draws its water from wells. It has a little cultivation, and a fort on the beach with old guns, though there is no evidence that it remounts beyond last century. News would probably come by runner (*mukattib*), and I have myself sent a runner from Bir 'Alī to al-Mukallā.

³ *Kiṭ'ah* according to Kindermann means a craft, sometimes a galley. The latter sense seems unlikely here, but the word might be the same as the Indian word *cotia*, though actually this is known in al-Mukallā today as *kūtiyah*. Alan Moore, 'Craft of the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden', *Mariner's Mirror* (London, 1920), vi. 73-76, 98-105, 136-42, refers to a *kutia* boat. Cf. Note Q, p. 174.

⁴ At Maifa' there is a perennial river and plenty of scope for cultivation, but the area is very malarious. It would be a good place at which to take on water.

him a peace (*ṣulḥ*). Then on Wednesday night, 13th of the said month, they set sail (*ṣaraw*) from the port, after they had made prizes of such vessels as lay in the port and their owners (*arbāb*) had redeemed the latter from them. Eight of their grabs had entered Burūm (anchorage) and they (the Franks) went forth to the village—whose inhabitants fled. They killed five of the Muslims and looted it, falling on their hidden and buried things.

Then after their departure from al-Shiḥr they passed by the place of Bā Ghashwah¹ and burned it. A party of them landed and lay in ambush on the shore until two fishermen (*ṣaiyād*) passed by; these they seized.

Then news came from Burūm that a grab of them had appeared in the vicinity of Burūm, returning in the direction of Aden. It had evidently (come) to get intelligence of the (Turkish) expedition (*tadjrīdah*)² and confirm the report of it, for during those days news had come that two grabs of it were at Sawākin.

Then on the last Saturday, 23rd of the month (Ramaḍān), the same grab appeared at al-Shiḥr port after coming to Khalif³ where it chanced upon an open skiff (*ṭarrād*)⁴ from Zaila', seizing its cargo of slaves (*raḳīk*),⁵ &c. The skiff's crew fled to the shore, taking with them some of the necessities (*al-ḥawā'idj*)⁶ and the slaves, but they came up with them (the crew) on the coast (*ila 'l-barr*), despoiled them of the rest of what they had of these, and returned. Then they suspected that those (of the skiff's crew) who had fled had buried the gold, so they landed next day to unearth what had been buried, but a party of the Āl Bā Muḥammad⁷ laid an ambush for them, killing seven and wounding two of them.

¹ Rās Bā Ghashwah lies between Dīs and Ḳuṣai'ar. It is marked on W. Thesiger's map published in the *Geog. Jl.* (London, 1949), cxiii. 21-46. It is said there are ruins of a village here of some antiquity.

² Mukallā MS. *baḥriyah*, incorrectly. This word exists, cf. p. 50, n. 6.

³ This reading is conjectural for *waṣala khalfa-hu* of the texts, but it is possible. Khalif lies a little to the east of al-Mukallā; there is a shipyard there today but no village to the best of my recollection. *Khalf al-marākib*, I was told, means 'taking on fresh water'. Cf. Ulughkhānī, op. cit., Appendix I, p. 32.

⁴ See p. 137.

⁵ Mukallā MS. *daḳīk* (flour), but this latter is unlikely.

⁶ Ḥadramis rendered this word by 'requirements, things', but I wonder if in fact it may mean something like the word in A. Dietrich, *Zum Drogenhandel im islamischen Aegypten* (Heidelberg, 1954), p. 6, where it includes drugs, cosmetics, &c. It sometimes means 'spices' in S. Arabia. In the *Mulakkhaṣ al-Fitan* it is probably something like 'household comestibles'.

⁷ Presumably the Muḥammadiyīn tribe of today; cf. H. W. Ingrams, *A Report on . . . Hadhramaut* (London, 1937), p. 109.

Those still unhurt fled back to sea. Then the grab returned to India.

Year 940 H. (A.D. 1533-4) (78b)

During this period news came that the Franks had arrived with their expedition (*tadjhūz*) at Diu, and that a *pourparler* had taken place between them and the Sulṭān¹ concerning the (possibility of a) peace (*ṣulḥ*), but it was not ratified. This (happened) after Muṣṭafā Bairam had assumed command of Diu. Then subsequently news arrived that they had returned to their places.

On Sunday, 7th of Ramaḍān, twelve grabs of the Frank arrived at the port (of al-Shiḥr), pillaging the harbour as was their custom. They sent on in advance two grabs² in the direction of Aden and al-Bāb.³ They had already come upon four or five vessels from Gujerat, one of them from Manḳūsh⁴ with a party of Arabs and others.

On Tuesday, 15th of the month, they sailed from the port on the return to Hurmūz. Two or three days later one of the two grabs arrived, then, following it, the second. The farthest they had reached was Aḥwar, but they took nothing (by way of booty). When they came to al-Mishḳāṣ, however, they discovered that a galliot and a grab of them had put into the port of al-Mishḳāṣ along with a ship from Manḳūsh.⁴ Discussions between them concerning the redemption (money) for it and the (ransom for) its passengers resulted in a settlement at 22,000 ashrafis, but the Franks would only agree to release the merchants and not the seamen (*baḥarah*). The seamen (on the contrary) insisted on that (also) because Ibn Manḳūsh was one of the prisoners.⁵

¹ Ulughkhānī, op. cit., p. 336, has an entry for this year: 'The Sulṭān went up to Chānpānīr (Chāmpāner) and he heard of the arrival of the Frank before Diu, so he went up to Kanbāyah (Cambay) and made a naval expedition (*tadjahhaz*) to Diu in naval grabs (*al-aghribat al-ḥarbiyah*)', &c.

² Mukallā MS. 'a grab'; incorrectly in view of what follows.

³ *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 62b, says: 'Al-Bāb is called Bāb al-Mandam with *m*, and Bāb al-Mandab with *b*.' Cf. Shumovsky, op. cit., gazetteer, for references.

⁴ Mukallā and Tarīm MSS. 'Man'ūsh'. The Dhahran Mahrīs mentioned to me a place Manḳōsh between Ghaizah and Saiḥūt, a little place on the coast. Farther down, however, a certain Ibn Manḳūsh (a person) is mentioned. *C. F. B.* suggests a possible corruption of Mangrol or Mandvi. Ḥuraidah MS. 'two ships', but in view of what follows the other reading is to be preferred.

⁵ This passage is very dubious. The Mukallā and Tarīm MSS. read: *li-anna min djumlat al-'asārā Ibn Man'ūsh*, but Ḥuraidah reads *ayn Manḳūsh*. Ibn Manḳūsh seems to have been a supporter of the Āl Kathīr in the year 959 H. (A.D. 1552) according to a notice in Bā Faḳīh's chronicle.

Toward the end of the month news came from Aden that four grabs had gone by Aden and passed on towards al-Bāb

During this period¹ three of the said grabs returned, the fourth remaining behind, then on the 20th (Shawwāl) it arrived at the port of al-Shiḥr, after encountering by chance a vessel come out of Batticalā between al-Shiḥr and Aden. On arriving with it at al-Shiḥr they held *pourparlers* for its redemption (*istifkāk*),² but concerning it nothing was fixed between them. Then on Friday, 24th of Shawwāl, it sailed off with the vessel.

During this period in which it lay at anchor in the port, two vessels arrived from al-Sawāḥil (East Africa). When they saw it (the Frankish grab) they beached the two vessels (*djahab*)³ on the coast, and handed over the passengers (*rakabah*, sing. *rākīb*) and part of the cargo (*ḥaml*).

On Tuesday, 28th of the month, one of the four grabs we have mentioned as having passed on beyond Aden arrived at the port of al-Shiḥr. Near Rawkab⁴ they had fallen in with a sambook of those belonging to the people of al-Shiḥr; they seized its passengers but God facilitated their release (*fikāk*) at al-Shiḥr. As for the sambook and its cargo they abandoned them, only taking from it the light gear. Before them (i.e. the sambook party) it had fallen in with a sambook also belonging to the people of al-Shiḥr near 'Ain Bā Ma'bad,⁵ the passengers of which plunged into the sea; the Franks looted most of its cargo consisting of black⁶ Ḥaḍramī cloth (*bazz*),⁷ cloves (*karanful*), &c. The said grab then stayed in the port for two days, after which it sailed away; it was the last of the grabs.

¹ i.e. Shawwāl.

² Cf. Fakāk al-rahn, that wherewith the pledge is to be redeemed (Lane, *Lexicon*), and Bā Makhramah, *Fatāwā*, S.O.A.S. photocopy, fol. 203a.

³ A. Jahn, *Die Mehri-Sprache*, p. 179, *ha-jehôb*, Schiff ans Land ziehen, *yihâjeheb*.

⁴ Rawkab, a small coastal village east of al-Mukallā on the way to al-Shiḥr.

⁵ 'Ain Bā Ma'bad, a small village about half a day's march west of Bīr 'Alī, named after a saint. Cf. *Materials for South Arabian History*, i. 303. Al-'Ain is also mentioned in the *Mulakhkhaṣ al-Fitan*, fol. 17^v, as paying certain dues to Aden.

⁶ Mukallā MS. 'black and Ḥaḍramī cloth'.

⁷ This is an interesting allusion to the black Ḥaḍramī cloth commonly known as *kārah* today which with its embroideries is used for the dress of peasant women. Two frocks of this kind can now be seen in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge. Ulughkhānī mentions cloth stuffed with cotton (p. 655) called *kārwah*; perhaps there is a connexion.

Year 941 H. (A.D. 1534-5) (80a)

On Monday, 8th of the said month (Djumādā II), a vessel arrived from Mangalore (Mandjarūr),¹ a province of Gujerat,² with a cargo of cotton (*uṭḡ*), &c., (this date being equivalent) to the 42nd day in Nairūz.³ They brought news that the Franks were besieging Diu with a number of sailing-ships, and mentioned that the Emir of Diu was now the Khawādjā Šafar Salmān, and that the Sulṭān had sent Muṣṭafā Bairam with soldiers to fight the Moguls in the Sind provinces. News followed that the Lord of Gujerat had made peace with the Franks on condition that Bassein (Wasādj)⁴ and its (surrounding) provinces be surrendered to the Frank and that a party of them, about 200, should remain with the Sulṭān by way of a pledge (*rahīnah*) that the agreement would be concluded.

During this period (Shawwāl) four grabs of the Frank with a captain (*kunbuṭān*, *kubbuṭān*) arrived. They had gone as far as the neck (*raḡabah*)⁵ of Kamarān, falling in with (some) dhows (*djilāb*) and a sambook from which they took some prisoners. Then they came to al-Zihārī⁶ and landed suddenly on the coast, contrary to expectation. Its inhabitants took to flight, but they caught up with them in the wādī among the bushes and took a number of their women and children prisoner. When they came to al-Shiḥr they moored (*tawwahū*) there, and the Sulṭān and the Muslims ransomed most of the prisoners for a money ransom (*al-mufādāh*

¹ Mukallā and Tarīm MSS. 'Mandjūr'. I have taken the reading Mangalore from Danvers. C. F. B. says Mandjūr must be Mangrol, and adds that the news was inaccurate.

² Huraidāh MS. has a marginal annotation, قزرات.

³ See Note R, p. 174.

⁴ Beckingham says that Bassein is Vasāi, 'a word meaning a settlement'. As in Ḥaḍramawt *dj* is pronounced as *y* and written Arabic has no *v* the correspondence is good. Beckingham states that by this treaty Bassein was handed over to the Portuguese, adding: 'This passage is important as there is great confusion in the Portuguese authorities about the precise date of the treaty with the King of Gujerat.' The Mukallā MS. has *W s bādj*.

⁵ I am indebted to Colonel N. G. Alban, Commissioner for Kamarān, for the information that the name Raḡabat Kamarān seems unknown, but that till not long ago most of the islanders lived in the now ruined village of Saila, and the Khawr of that name was the chief anchorage for their craft. A map of the island may be consulted in the Admiralty's *Western Arabia and the Red Sea* (1946), p. 136. It would be reasonable to see as the 'neck' of Kamarān the narrow strip of land to the west of Khawr Saila. The *Instructions nautiques*, ii, fol. 48b, actually mentions the *raḡabah* of Kamarān as if it were some kind of anchorage.

⁶ A Yemeni sailor told me that al-Zihārī is south of Kamarān.

bi-'l-māl). The Sulṭān extended safe-conduct to them, dealing with them generously¹ in order to protect himself against violence on their part.

Year 942 H. (A.D. 1535) (81b)

On the 23rd² the Captain (*al-kanṭubān, al-kaḇuṭān*), and the Franks accompanying him, may God curse him, left al-Shiḥr harbour, the Sulṭān having supplied them with cattle (*baḡar*), sheep (*ghanam*), &c. He gave the Captain (*al-kanḇuṭān*) a fine horse and also presented two of his retinue with two or three head of horses.³ This was after he, I mean the Sulṭān, sent a message⁴ by the hand of the Khawādjā Ibn al-Zaman⁵ to the Captain of Goa, confirming the peace (*ṣulḥ*). With him he sent him five head of horses.

During this period news arrived that a grab of the Franks who had set off from al-Shiḥr direction had returned towards Aḥwar, looting and taking captives; among those who had been robbed was a party of the Bait Ziyād.⁶ Then he (the Frank) returned to Ḥairidj where he sold off his loot. Three of the Frank merchants then set off for India with Bāniyān vessels, followed by a party of the Mahrah who had been robbed and were making for al-Mishḡāṣ. They fell in with them *en route* and slew the three Franks, looting all that was in the vessel.

During the first days of Rabī' II a grab of the Frank which had been moored at _____, ⁷ arrived (at al-Shiḥr). It had robbed

¹ The texts vary. Ḥuraidah reads '*āmala-hum bi-'l-ikrām*, which would mean that he feasted them. The Mukallā MS. has '*āmala-hum bi-'l-kalām*, which means 'kept them in parley'.

² No MS. gives the month in which this incident fell.

³ It will be recalled that al-Shiḥr had close connexions with Zūfār, which was one of the centres of the horse-trade to India.

⁴ The Mukallā and Ḥuraidah MSS. read *mukātabah*, but the Bā Ṣurrah MS. has *wa-kātaba-hu*.

⁵ The name of this person seems to have been 'Abdullāh b. al-Zaman.

⁶ Bait Ziyād is a Mahri group mentioned also by the earlier chronicler Shanbal. Under the year 942 H. (A.D. 1535-6) I have noted from the Tarīm MS. the entry 'In the month of Radjab, Muḥammad b. Ṭaw'arī, the shaikh of the Bait Ziyād died'. Under the year 959 H. (A.D. 1552) is mentioned 'Bait Ziyād, their chief (*ra'īs*) being Sa'd b. 'Isā b. 'Afrār al-Mahri'.

⁷ The text is corrupt in all four MSS. at this point. The readings seem to be:

| | |
|-----------|--------------------|
| Mukallā | مان متوه بحر حوبا |
| Bā Ṣurrah | مان متوه بحر رحويا |
| Tarīm | حان متوه بحر زحوبا |
| Ḥuraidah | مان متوه بحر حوناد |

a party *en route*, then it arrived at al-Shiḥr where it got to hear of the Mahrah and their murder of the afore-mentioned Franks. So it slipped out¹ of al-Shiḥr with a number of the Franks, setting out to cut the sea-route to al-Mishkāṣ from al-Sawāḥil (the East African seaboard), and elsewhere. Two or three days later news came through that, on its arrival at Qishn harbour, it found a contingent which the honourable Saiyid 'Abdullāh b. Shaikh al-'Aidarūs² had recruited for (*ḥashada ilā*) Aden on behalf of the shaikh 'Āmir b. Dā'ūd, most of whom had assembled³ on board ships. An exchange of fire (*muḥādhafah*)⁴ took place between them, the grab letting loose at them with guns and muskets. As they came to close quarters⁵ it threw powder-pots on to them (*ramā 'alai-him buram bārūt*),⁶ so that some were burned and many drowned, mostly Bedu, Mahrah.⁷ The grab then returned to al-Shiḥr, accompanied by a single vessel which it had found, with a cargo of cloth, belonging to a party of Batticalā people bound for Jeddah. It brought it to al-Shiḥr port where the Sulṭān purchased it from the Frank for 3,000 ashrafīs, but its owners were unable (to recover it) for less than 7,000 ashrafīs, plus about 300 to the intermediaries (*ziyādah li-'l-wasā'it*).⁸

During these days of the latter part of Rabi' II about seven

The sense is clear, however, except for the place-name, but it is just possible that it is a corruption for Djuzur Khūriyān, for Ibn al-Mudjāwir, op. cit. ii. 271, does mention Khūriyān wa-Mūriyān, which we know as the Curia Muria Islands. Cf. *Instructions nautiques*, ii, fol. 18b, Khūriyā Mūriyā.

¹ Mahris told me استهرى was a Mahri word with the sense of سار and the Huraidah MS. has a marginal annotation سرا. Cf. *Instructions nautiques*, ii, fol. 95b, and Shumovsky, op. cit., fol. 92^v, l. 10.

² See Note S, p. 175.

³ See p. 58, n. 6. My notes from Raḥaiyam here read 'collected' for *taḥaṣṣal*.

⁴ Shaikh 'Abdullāh al-Nākhībī says *muḥādhafah* means 'throwing stones or sticks at one another'.

⁵ Arabic: *dāyākū-hum wa-dāyaka-hum*.

⁶ Fu'ād Bā Raḥīm informs me that in Aden the *burmah*-pot made of clay mixed with dung has the shape U. The unidentified Saiwūn MS. describes *qumburah* (?) as a *burmah* and says it is used by the Turks (19th cent.), so it must then have been equivalent to the Turkish *khumburah* (a bomb). Ayalon, op. cit., p. 42, alludes to clay pots (*ḥawārīr*) used for this purpose, and White-way, op. cit., p. 265, says the Portuguese besieged in Diu used 'powder-pots'. Cf. al-Djarmūzī, p. 122 *infra*.

⁷ 'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb employed Mahrah mercenaries. Mahris also acted as mercenary soldiers in India (cf. Ulughkhānī, op. cit., p. 291) and Abyssinia (R. Basset, op. cit.). Cf. De Sacy, op. cit., p. 432, for Mahrah and Yāfi'i mercenaries.

⁸ One would expect the *dallāls* to act as intermediaries in such cases.

sailing-ships, galliots, and others arrived from Diu with Bahādur's mother, his wife, and his children.¹ They said they were bound for the Holy Cities (al-Haramain al Sharīfain), that the Moguls had routed Bahādur and taken Chāmpāner (Shab al-Nīr) and other places, that Muṣṭafā had made a *rapprochement* with them (*wālāhum*) and gone over to their side,² that Bahādur had withdrawn in rout to Diu, but some of the Emirs had been in correspondence with him to induce him to return and face the Moguls, promising him aid and assistance, and that on account of this he was intending to return to the field (*al-barr*)

On Sunday, 5th of the month of Ramaḍān, Sulṭān Badr executed a number of the Franks who were with him at al-Shihṛ and sent the rest away, placing them in irons and looting their effects.

Then on the 15th or 16th day (of the month) he sent a batch of them, about thirty-three (in number), to Jeddah, and thence to the Sulṭān Sulaimān in Turkey (al-Rūm) to whom he dispatched letters, as also to the governor (*nā'ib*) of Egypt.³

The number of Franks executed amounted to about forty, and the total number was over 100. There was a detachment of them at Zufār, so Sulṭān Badr wrote to his officers (*nurwāb*) at Zufār, directing them to preserve (*istahfaz*) them and their property. News arrived that they had killed one of them, thrown the rest into irons, and seized their effects.

During these days a grab of them appeared and seized B. Djūh's⁴ vessel at Qishn harbour, but its owners redeemed it for 7,000 ashrafis. This same grab then went on to Ghurāb al-Djuzur (Ghurāb of the islands)⁵ and al-'Ain,⁶ falling in with about thirteen sailing-ships or more, Aden sambooks and the like, which the East Monsoon (Azyab) had held up (*haiyar*) there for two months. It took the lot, destroying some of the sailing-vessels, and seizing the lighter goods such as money (*darāhim*), opium (*afyūn*),⁷ cloth (*aḳmishah*), and the like

¹ This incident is also reported in *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 243.

² Mukallā MS. *inhāz ilai-him*; Huraidah *indjāz ilai-him*.

³ See Note T, p. 175.

⁴ Bin Djūh is a tribe of the Shaḥrā in Tākāh, east of Salālah, nowadays.

⁵ Certainly Huṣn al-Ghurāb, for there are small barren islands near it. Cf. p. 43, n. 1, *supra*.

⁶ 'Ain Bā Ma'bad, cf. p. 68, n. 5, *supra*.

⁷ A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet* (Wien, 1922, and Leipzig, 1933), i. 219 and 270, says the tribes use it as one constituent of a salve to allay pain, but apparently they do not smoke opium. Ibn Ḥadjar, op. cit. ii. 42, replies

[The above seems drawn from *Bā Makhramah*, but what follows is taken from *Bā Sandjalah*.]

In this year Sultān Badr attacked (*hallab 'alā*)¹ the Frank in al-Shiḥr in the early morning of Sunday, 5th of Ramaḍān of the said year, after his return from taking Ḥairīdj.² The Zaidī Ashrāf³ returned to his quarters at al-Shiḥr, the Sharif Nāṣir b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusain and his cousins, the people of al-Djawf.⁴ About thirty men of the Franks were killed, and the Captain (*kanbuṭān*) of them, along with forty of their chief men, was beleaguered in a house from the early morning until afternoon of that day when they asked for quarter (*amān*). So he granted them quarter and split them up, placing ten with the Zaidī Ashrāf, ten with the Zaidī soldiers, ten with the Nubian⁵ slaves, and ten with the Yāfi'i soldiers.⁶ He took over their effects, their slaves, their trade goods (*'urūd tidjārati-him*), and their money in cash, a considerable amount; he also took over their sailing-ships, namely about fourteen galliots, large galliots. About eight made off in a party in one of their galliots. Moreover, they discovered a number of them hiding in the houses after they had arrested the forty. The total number of Franks arrested came to seventy men. A party from al-Sawāhil (the East African sea-board), with goods, came to join them, so he seized these as well and threw them in irons along with their fellows.

to a question on opium imported from India and the Yemen (cf. *ibid.* iv. 259). *Bā Makhramah*, *Fatāwā*, fol. 352a, also gives an opinion on a man addicted to opium and other narcotics *تعود اكل الكفنا (الكفتة) والافيون والحشيشة المعجون من صغره الى كبره*. A similar case is dealt with in the collection known as *al-Masā'il al-Mulaibāriyah*.

¹ This word appears in *Prose and Poetry*, p. 22, in the sense of *hadjama 'alā*; *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 208; C. de Landberg, *Ḥadhramôt*, p. 732, *amener la voile, se ruer sur*.

² Bā Fakīh (Ḥuraidah MS., fol. 82b) says under the entries for 942 H. (A.D. 1535-6): 'On Tuesday, 27th of the month (not given), Sultān Badr arrived from Ḥairīdj after having fortified (*mana'a*) its fort (*ḥuṣn*), and placing forty shots (*rāmī*) there, ten of them musketeers (*banādīkah*). He placed *zebratanas* there, and filled it with grain (*ṭa'ām*), dates, and water.'

³ See Note U, p. 176.

⁴ Al-Djawf is a district of the Eastern Yemen, cf. map in Mohammed Tawfik, *Les Monuments de Ma'in* (Le Caire, 1951).

⁵ These would form a contingent under a *muḥaddam* (headman, foreman). Neither slaves born in Ḥadramawt nor East Africans are mentioned.

⁶ Yāfi'is were mercenaries at this time in the same countries as the Mahrah. Ulughkhānī, *op. cit.*, p. 290 says, *Hum ahl al-tāsah wa-djull al-i'timād 'alai-him* (they were the people of the drum, and the greatest reliance was placed on them).

When Sulṭān Badr sent thirty-five in a galliot to Sulṭān Sulaimān the Ottoman, Muṣṭafā al-Turkī and a party set out along with them, bound for Jeddah, but when they were at a place near Jeddah called al-Sha'ar,¹ seven broke loose (*iftakkū*) from their fetters, threw themselves upon Muṣṭafā and his companions, and fought it out with them. So they slew the seven, and the rest they took into Jeddah, then he straight away set off with them in a grab to Sulṭān Sulaimān in 'Turkey (al-Rūm).

The Franks in Zufār (numbered) eleven, ten of whom they arrested, and one was killed. Sulṭān Badr said: 'Half of the Franks in Zufār are mine,² and half (*nāṣifah*) go to Sulṭān Muḥammad.'³ Sulṭān Badr ordered that his half be executed, but Sulṭān Muḥammad gave clothing⁴ to the five who were his half, fitted them out, and sent them off to Hurmūz. This and the likes of it was (on account of) the difference with his brother Muḥammad, may God rest them in peace.

UNIDENTIFIED MANUSCRIPT IN SAIWŪN

Notice relating to 942 H. (A.D. 1535-6)

In this year the fleet (*tadhīz*) of the Franks, may God abandon them, arrived before al-Shiḥr port, but God succoured Sulṭān Badr against them. He made slaughter among them, taking captives and taking their goods and sailing-ships as prizes. This came about after his return from the country of al-Mishkāṣ, accompanied by the Ashrāf already mentioned, namely on Sunday, 5th of Ramaḍān of the above year. Those of the Franks slain (numbered) thirty persons, while (another) forty were beleaguered until afternoon that day; then the Captain (*kabuṭān*) asked for quarter (*amān*) for them

[The author states that about 100 fled in one of their sailing-ships (khashabah).]

¹ I have not been able to find this place in any other source, hut the vocalization here is that of the Tarīm MS. Muḥ. b. Hāshim and the unidentified Saiwūn MS. have الشغر.

² Here some MSS. insert 'five'.

³ Muḥ. b. 'Abdullāh, the brother of Sulṭān Badr (Muḥ. b. Hāshim, *Tārīkh*, p. 42). Cf. Bā Hārūn, MS. laud., fol. 92a.

⁴ This could mean that he gave them an investiture, but here I think it simply means clothing.

Eleven men of the Frank were also sent¹ to the city of Zūfār. Of these they executed six, and the brother of Sulṭān Badr, namely Sulṭān Muḥammad then governor of Zūfār, sent (the remaining) five (away?).² After fitting them out and clothing them, two he sent to Hurmūz. That was the cause of his difference with his brother.³

TĀRĪKH AL-SHIHRĪ (85b)

Year 943 H. (A.D. 1536-7)

On Monday, 17th Rabī' I, Sulṭān Badr went up to Ḥaḍramawt with his family (*ahl*),⁴ accompanied by some of the Frankish prisoners, they being thirty Franks

In this year on Monday, 3rd of the month of Ramaḍān, or (according to another report) the 4th of Ramaḍān, Sulṭān Bahādur Shāh, Lord of Gujērāt, was killed, being murdered by the Frank. It came about in this wise—that a fleet (*tadjhīz*) of the Frank arrived before Diu from the south,⁵ and, when they reached Diu port, Sulṭān Bahādur embarked, putting out⁶ in his own person on Khawādjā Ṣafar Salmān's grab, by way of coming to meet them, accompanied by about ten of his ministers and by the Khawādjā Ṣafar Salmān. When he reached them they made a show of welcome and politeness (*ikrām wa-ḥishmah*) towards him, and (proffer) of support against his foes the Moguls who had seized his country—as was related under the year 7.⁷ (At the same time, however,) they reproached him for sending (*taṣḍīr*)⁸ the sailing-ships to Jeddah as already mentioned,⁹ (maintaining) that all he (really) intended was to incite the Turks (Arwām) against them. He (for his part) absolved himself, saying: 'My intention was merely to

¹ I read the passive.

² Something may be missing in the MS.

³ This version differs in some details from the previous one, particularly in representing as a victory what looks suspiciously like an act of treachery.

⁴ *Ahl* might mean his immediate kinsfolk rather than just his family.

⁵ Arabic: *fī sāfil*. I should prefer to read *min sāfil*, but there is no MS. support for this. Cf. C. Reinhardt, *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in 'Oman und Zanzibar* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1894), 395, *mi-'l-'ālī wa-'s-sāfil* (from north and south). *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 96a, *fī sāfil*, and *infra*, p. 91.

⁶ The texts vary: Mukallā *عرب*; Bā Ṣurrah *عرب*; Tarīm *عرب*; Ḥuraidah *عرب*. Hadramīs offered the not very convincing suggestion *gharrab bi-naḥsihi* (retired by himself). Perhaps *gharrar bi-naḥsi-hi* (exposed himself to danger) should be read.

⁷ i.e. 937 H. (A.D. 1530-1). Cf. p. 60.

⁸ *Gl. Daṭ.*, *envoyer*.

⁹ In the previous year. Cf. p. 72.

go on the pilgrimage in them, but nobody apart from the minister (*al-wazīr*) and some of my family (*ahl-nā*) consented to go on the pilgrimage.' They would not, however, believe him, and when he left them they sent two grabs in pursuit of him, but he fought them bravely till he and the ministers accompanying him were slain, all except the Khawādjā Safar, for him they spared. The Franks (then) obtained possession of Diu in its deserted state (*khāliyah*), proclaiming an amnesty (*amān*) for the people, so they all returned together

[The above passage seems to have been drawn from the *fakīh* 'Abdullāh Bā Makhramah, who comments on the loss suffered by the Muslim countries through his death.]

On about the 20th of Dhu 'l-Hidjdjah there arrived the three grabs which were at Bāb al-Mandab and opened *pourparlers* for the ransom (*fikāk*) of their comrades who were with Sulṭān Badr. The Sulṭān, however, evinced so much greed (*tama'*) that the matter turned to their opening negotiations for a truce (*ṣulḥ*) on condition that their comrades should remain as they were, and that the Indian trading shipping (*al-mūsīm al-Hindī*) should put in to al-Shiḥr, and that at the close of the monsoon they should send four of their notables (*akābir*) to stay with the Sulṭān in replacement of those prisoners, and these four should write the documents (*al-khuṭūt*) for the people of the sailing-ships.¹

Year 944 H. (A.D. 1537-8) (87b)

In this year on the 18th of Rabī' I, an envoy (*kāšid*), Farḥāt Shūbāšī by name, arrived at al-Shiḥr, with two letters and two robes of honour (*khil'ah*) for Sulṭān Badr. The purport of their contents was that the Lord of Egypt, i.e. Sulaimān Bāshā, was intent on sending an expedition (*tadjridah*) to the Frank, and that he was coming in person to take charge of the war (*djihād*). The said envoy and those accompanying him travelled from al-Shiḥr on the 18th of Rabī' II, and the Sulṭān sent a present to the said Bāshā consisting of a diamond stone (*faṣṣ almās*) and 500 mithḳāls weight of ambergris (*'anbar*).² To the envoy himself and the party

¹ This no doubt alludes to the Portuguese practice of providing shipping with licences to pass their blockade. Cf. O. Löfgren, *Arabische Texte*, glossary, p. 33.

² Ambergris can be picked up on the shores of al-Shiḥr and al-Mukallā.

with him he presented about thirty buhārs¹ of pepper (*filfil*). This envoy had already passed through Aden and Zabīd with letters (*mukātabāt*) and robes of honour for their governors (*wulāh*), may God render the future of all prosperous.

Here concludes what the faḳīh 'Abdullāh Bā Makhramah related in his manuscript (*khaṭṭ*).

From the manuscript (*khaṭṭ*) of Bā Sandjalah; he said:

In this year on Saturday, 18th of Rabī' I, a grab containing about thirty Turks (Rūmī), envoys to Sulṭān Badr, arrived before al-Shihr, he being in al-Shihr on that day. They brought with them two diplomas (*marsūm*) and two robes of honour from Sulṭān Sulaimān b. Salīm b. Bāyazīd the Ottoman, at that time Lord of Turkey, Egypt and Syria, his Emir Sulaimān Bāshā al-Tawāshī acting as his spokesman (*'alā lisān amīri-hi*), the governor (*'āmil*) of Egypt and its dependencies. It was he who sent the envoy grab and the diplomas afore-mentioned in the charge of his slave (*mamlūk*) Farḥāt Shūbāshī, with news of the expedition (*tadjridah*): that it was being sent to fight the Frank, that Sulṭān Sulaimān had permitted its dispatch, and that it was equipped and ready to sail (*mutadjahhizah*), if God will. The said envoy also brought a robe of honour for the Shaikh 'Āmir b. Dā'ūd, the Lord of Aden, and had read out the diploma and invested him (with it), but he had deferred the promise of a reply until he should return from al-Shihr.

When the morning of the 22nd of Rabī' I came, Sulṭān Badr and his soldiers met in assembly with the envoy and his suite to read out the diplomas in the noble Djāmi' Mosque.² The faḳīh 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar Bā Makhramah read them out standing up, the Sulṭān and the people also standing, out of respect for the commands of the Sulṭān of Turkey (al-Rūm). They invested Sulṭān Badr

¹ Pepper was a commodity, one might say, almost equivalent to bullion. Bā Hārūn, MS. laud., shows that pilgrims to Mecca made their own individual ventures to help them defray the expenses of their journey. Ḥaḍramīs (4a) going to Jeddah hear there is a large duty (*'alaih mu'ashshar kathīr*) on pepper, so to the customs officers searching (*ahl al-Dīwān yufattishūn*) they say their pepper is chick peas (*mundj didjr akḥḍar*), and again a Ḥaḍramī who sells pepper to a Jeddah merchant is complained to by the latter that it is adulterated (*maghshūsh*). From the tenor of Bā Hārūn's remarks the Saiyids evidently regarded the Argus-eyed Dīwān as imposing an unlawful tax in exacting customs dues.

² Al-Masjd al-Djāmi' is in al-Ḳaryah Quarter in front of the castle Ḥuṣn Bin 'Aiyāsh; it was the original town (*aṣl al-bilād*) and is now *aṣghar ḥāfah*, the smallest quarter in present-day al-Shihr.

with the two robes of honour at the reading of the diplomas—the content of which was news of the expedition, its numbers and equipment (*'adad-hā wa-'udad-hā*).

On the Friday, 14th of the same month, the preacher gave the address in the Djāmi' Mosque in the name of Sulṭān Sulaimān, this being the first address (*khutbah*) made in the name of the 'Turks at al-Shihr.¹

On Monday, 9th of Rabi' II,² the envoy³ departed in grateful mood, full of praise for the honour, chivalrous treatment, and consideration (*al-ḥishmah, wa-'l-muruzwah wa-'l-murā'ah*) which he had perceived on the part of Sulṭān Badr toward him, as well as the generous gifts, he (Badr) having made him a reply of a completely satisfactory nature in a letter (*khaṭṭ*) by the same faḳīh 'Abdullāh.

When he passed on to Aden he entered the place to obtain the reply of its Lord the shaikh 'Āmir b. Dā'ūd b. Ṭāhir, but did not find him in Aden because he had retired to the hinterland (*al-barr*)⁴ so as not to meet them, ordering his Emirs to give them some pepper, but he neglected their business and paid no proper attentions to the envoy. The latter therefore was filled with a designing hatred against him which was to be the cause of the (Shaikh's) destruction as will appear.

On their departure from al-Shihr they encountered a grab of the Frank at the islands⁵ nigh to nightfall and engaged it, killing some of its complement, and they drove them out,⁶ but night fell over them, so the Frankish grab took to its heels, to reappear above Ḥāwāt⁷ in the neighbourhood of al-Mishḳāṣ, by water there.

Sa'd b. 'Amr al-Muḥammadi⁸ came up with them accompanied

¹ A marginal note to the Ḥuraidah MS. says, *ḳif 'alā awwal khutbah li-Sulṭān Sulaimān al-Turkī bi-'l-Shihr* (note the first oration in the name of the Turkish Sulṭān Sulaimān at al-Shihr), the writer perhaps having in mind Turkish attempts in 1850 and 1867 to annex Ḥaḍramawt. I believe that, until the abolition of the Caliphate, the *khutbah* oration was delivered in the name of the Ottoman Sulṭān.

² The unidentified Saiwūn MS. says the envoy left on the 18th of Rabi' I, and b. Ḥāshim, op. cit., p. 44, says the 24th of Rabi' I.

³ The unidentified Saiwūn MS. states that he was the first envoy (*ḳāṣid*) from al-Rūm to al-Shihr.

⁴ The Adenese to this day use the term *al-barr* for the hinterland of Aden.

⁵ Probably the islands of Ḥuṣn al-Ghurāb, &c.

⁶ The MSS. are identical here, but it is not clear whence they drove them out.

⁷ My Mahri informant said Ḥāwāt was on the coast.

⁸ Sa'd b. 'Amr b. Salmān al-Muḥammadi (in some MSS. al-Ḥamdī) was a

by a party of Mahrah bound for Zaila' in a grab of his. They made to engage with them, but the Franks made a truce with them in return for some money, so they left them to water (in peace), and the grab returned to Hurmūz.

UNIDENTIFIED MANUSCRIPT IN SAIWŪN

[This source confirms the Sultān's gift to the Turkish envoy of a diamond, 500 mithkāls of ambergris, and 30 buhārs of pepper. It then adds the following information.]

And they landed in al-Shiḥr equipment and provisions ('*udad wa-zawād*') for the personnel of the expedition (*tadjrīdah*), what they landed consisting in all of 1,000 buhārs of biscuit (*h r s māṭ*),¹ the same quantity of onions, about 1,000 bags (*kīs*) of wheat, barley, and beans (*fūl*), 50 jars (? *k d wīyah*)² of olive-oil (*zait*),³ and numerous engines consisting of guns and armaments (*silāḥāt*). This arrived in al-Shiḥr on Saturday morning, 11th of Djumādā I.

TĀRĪKH AL-SHIḤRĪ (88b)

In this year the diploma (*marsūm*) of the Egyptians reached Sultān Badr in answer to his letter (*kitāb*) dispatched to them with the envoy Farḥāt Shūbāṣī, stating that the expedition (*tadjrīdah*) had left Turkey (al-Rūm) to come to the aid of the Muslims. It was already at Suez fitting out to fight the Franks in India,⁴ its (accompanying) troops numbering 40,000 Turks (Rūmī) and its sailing-ships eighty vessels. (It further stated) that they would be launched

Mahrī of note who seems to have taken service with the Ḳarād at Zaila'. He was slain in 945 H. (A.D. 1538-9) by the Ḳarād along with another prominent Mahrī in retaliation for the murder of the Emir of the Ḳarād in 944 H. (A.D. 1537-8) by a Mahrī murderer who escaped. There was a body of Mahrī *saffārah* in Zaila' at that time. See the annals for 945 H.

¹ Presumably another form of بِشْمَاط (al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, i. 581), Turkish بِكْسَمَاتِ بِكْسَمَات, &c. Cf. H. and R. Kahane and A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca of the Levant* (Urbana, 1958), pp. 555-6.

² To be read *karawīyah*, meaning a spherical jar?

³ This looks like an Egyptian diet, certainly not what one would expect from southern Arabia!

⁴ Arabic: *ḳad-hā bi-l-Suwais mutadjahhizah li-l-ḥarb*.

(*mukawwarah*)¹ on the 18th of the month of Shawwāl and that they would set sail at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḥijdah of the same year. The diploma arrived on Saturday night, 21st of Muḥarram, at the beginning of year 5,² in a ship belonging to the people of al-Shiḥr, and the rest of the story will be told under that year. Here closes the quotation from Bā Sandjalāh.

The faḳīh 'Abdullāh Bā Makhramah said:

On Djumādā 23rd or 28th news arrived that Sa'd b. 'Amr had encountered a Frankish grab lying at Qishn, and an exchange of gun and zebratana³ fire took place between them. Two of Sa'd b. 'Amr's men were killed, one from Bait Ziyād,⁴ the other a slave ('*abd*'), but a cannon-ball (*midfa*)⁵ fell on the grab's awning ('*arshah*)⁶ and burned the awning, so the Frankish grab took to its heels and was lost to sight in the ocean

During the first days of Radjab, namely the 4th or 5th, Sulṭān Badr brought the Frankish prisoners to Ghail Bā Wazīr, and towards the close of the month of Radjab a 'Thābit⁷ arrived at al-Mishkāṣ from Diu

On Wednesday, the 20th of Ramaḍān, a grab with a party of Franks arrived, giving out that it was bound for al-Bāb⁸ to obtain intelligence of the (Turkish) expedition. It asked to interview the captain among those taken prisoner at al-Shiḥr, so they brought him from al-Ghail into al-Shiḥr. Later, on Saturday, the 23rd of Ramaḍān, they brought to al-Shiḥr the rest of those who had been made prisoner. Those of the grab now evinced satisfaction with

¹ *Kawwar* (to launch), cf. Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, edit. O. Löfgren (Leiden, 1951-4), ii. 277. Al-Nākhībī said to me, *Bā nukawwir al-markab*. The opposite is *djahab* (to draw up a ship on the beach). One says also *yuhammilū kuwair al-markab*. Cf. Syed Hamood Hason, *Arabic Simplified* (Aden-Bombay, 1919), p. 223. J. R. Wellsted, *Reisen*, trans. E. Rodiger (Halle, 1842), ii. 247, has a note on Mukawwar Is. off the Nubian coast, with a general discussion of the word.

² i.e. 945 H. (A.D. 1538).

³ See Note V, p. 176.

⁴ Bait Ziyād, which also figures in Shanbal's chronicles, is still in Saiḥūt today.

⁵ *Midfa* seems to mean here a cannon-ball, not a gun, perhaps like *bunduḳ* (Ayalon, op. cit., p. 7, where *bunduḳ* means a ball). Cf. D. Lopes, *Extractos*, p. 14; al-Djarmūzī, *infra*, p. 124.

⁶ See note W, p. 177.

⁷ Mukallā MS. وصلت ثابت; Ḥuraidāh وصلت ثابت. I am utterly at a loss to explain this word. If the reading of the Mukallā MS. be correct it might mean something like 'confirmation' or 'a list' or a document of some sort, but I suspect the Mukallā reading, and the feminine verb in all MSS. makes the reading the more dubious. Bā Faḳīh (fol. 74a) mentions a person by this name but it is unlikely to be he.

⁸ i.e. Bāb al-Mandab.

the intelligence they had obtained of the expedition (while they were) at al-Shiḥr, and said to the Sultān: 'We shall go back from here, but write us papers from here to the captain, with such intelligence of the expedition as has come to your ears.' So they wrote (these papers) for him,¹ and it set sail (*ṣarā*)² from al-Shiḥr on Sunday night, the 24th. From al-Mukallā news subsequently arrived that this grab had passed onwards in the direction of Aden.

On Friday night, 6th of Shawwāl, two grabs arrived before al-Shiḥr, but they did not come into the town—on the contrary, the townspeople sent out one of the Franks to them. He stated, concerning them, that they were intending to press on³ to obtain intelligence of the (Turkish) expedition. They set sail the same night. (Concluded.)

Bā Sandjalah said:

In Shawwāl of this year on Saturday, 21st of the month, 'Abdullāh b. al-Zaman arrived in a galliot and a Frankish grab, with (ratification of) the truce (*ṣulḥ*) between the Frank and Sultān Badr.

In the same year the Mahrah murdered the Emir of al-Ḳarād⁴ Sa'īd,⁵ at Zaila', along with his secretary. He was slain by 'Abūd b. Aḥmad b. Djirdān and 'Abūd b. Ḥaidān⁶ who took his galliot from Zaila' harbour, and in it fled to Bāb al-Mandab where they fell in

¹ Presumably this captain, the former prisoner, was to act as an intelligence agent for the Portuguese?

² A common verb, cf. *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 84b, *ṣirāyah*, and ii, fol. 50b, *ṣarā*. Cf. Ibn Sidah, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, x. 28, where *al-ṣārī* (pl. *ṣurrā*) is equivalent to *al-mallāḥ*, the sailor.

³ Arabic: *yurīdūn ilā ḳuddām*. I think there can be no other rendering, but *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 83a, speaks of *rīḥ al-ḳuddām*, seemingly the name of a wind.

⁴ C. Conti Rossini, *Historia Regis Sarsa Dengel, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Aethiopici* (Paris-Leipzig, 1907), II. iii, p. 188. *Garād* (pl. *garāḡā*), *chef, gouverneur*, used only in the south and south-west of Abyssinia (Somalia).

⁵ A couple of passages in *Futūḥ al-Ḥabashah*, edit. R. Basset, pp. 97 and 110, refer to a party of about seventy Mahrah with a chief (*muḳaddam*) Sa'īd b. Ṣa'bān (v.r. Ṣa'bābah) al-Mahrī, and Aḥmad b. Sulaimān al-Mahrī, but their leader was a Saiyid who was later killed. Sa'īd evidently knew how to fire cannon. He is mentioned also in Ulughkhānī, op. cit., p. 595, in the year 980 H. (A.D. 1572-3) as one of the Mahrī leaders. Here the name is read simply Ṣa'bān.

⁶ The name Ḥaidān is common to all MSS. and is found in *Futūḥ al-Ḥabashah*, op. cit., p. 170. The Tarim MS. under the year 951 H. mentions a certain 'Abūd b. Kh rdān at Ḥairīdj. It seems to be a Mahrah name—cf. the eponymous ancestor Mahrah b. Ḥaidān (Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, op. cit. v. 15).

with two Frankish grabs out of India, come to spy out intelligence of the (Turkish) expedition. So, drawing alongside, they said to them, 'Why not help each the other to loot Zaila?' They came to Zaila' at a time when a trading fleet (*mūsīm*)¹ of the Indian ships lay there, and fought an engagement with the (Indian) ships' crews, but (had to) retire unsuccessfully, and brought about distress, slaughter, and rapine among their fellows, as will be related.²

As for the two Frankish grabs, they returned to al-Shiḥr in company with a third grab which they had taken from Zaila' bound for India,³ from a slave ('*abd*') who was in Zaila', one of the mamlūks of the Khawādījā Ṣafar—he is said to have been the person who gave⁴ the Mahrah who murdered Sa'īd, Emir of al-Ḳarād, thirty ūḳiyahs of gold to assassinate him, because the Emir had plagued him with vexations and prevented his departure.⁵ Subsequently, after Sa'īd's murder, the slave departed for al-Mishkāṣ, his grab setting out with the Franks, who entered and moored at al-Shiḥr because of the truce concluded between them by the hand of 'Abdullāh b. al-Zaman.⁶ (Concluded.)

The faḳīh 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar Bā Makhramah said:

On Saturday, 21st of the month, the Sulṭān's messenger, Ibn al-Zaman, arrived with (ratification of) the truce, in a galliot and a grab in which⁷ there was a party of Franks, the ratification of the truce to be conditional on the production of these prisoners, and

¹ *Mūsīm* of course really means a monsoon, the season when the shipping arrives, there being a *mūsīm* for each group of shipping from each country, as appears from the medieval almanacs which I have in preparation. There are numerous allusions to the *mawāsīm* in *Instructions nautiques*, with which compare Shumovsky, op. cit., p. 158; Lopes, *Extractos*, p. 21. It figures as a method of dating as in Bā Makhramah's *Fatāwā*: ان جيت الى الموسم المقبل والا فانت وليه النسا بطلاق نفسك عند ما يجي الموسم. The sense of this is: if I do not return after the coming monsoon season then you will automatically consider yourself divorced. ² See, perhaps, p. 98.

³ For '*āzim ila 'l-Hind*' the Bā Ṣurrah MS. has غارِه and Ḥuraidah غارِه.

⁴ The Tarīm MS. probably reads here *dafa'a*, the Mukallā and Ḥuraidah texts *waka'a*.

⁵ Text: *ḥaiyar 'alai-hi lā yusāfir*. According to 'Alawī b. Tāhir, *al-Shāmīl*, *ḥaiyar al-ṣanābiḳ 'an al-wuṣūl ilā 'Adan*. This, he says, is a Ḥaḍramī word with the meaning of *mana'a wa-ḥabasa*. This word occurs in Ulughkhānī, op. cit., Appendix I, p. 32.

⁶ For al-Zaman, b. Hāshim, *Tārikh*, p. 43, and the unidentified Saiwūn MS. read ارقل.

⁷ Grammatically this should refer to the galliot only.

the Franks should have a third¹ on the understanding that they would place a governador (*ḡubnūr*)² in the town to write documents (*ḡhuṭūṭ*)³ and receive one-third of the import duties (*al-mu'ash-shar*).⁴

Then on Sunday, 22nd of the month, the prisoners had their bonds (*rasam*)⁵ removed from them and they embarked on the night of Monday, the 23rd;⁶ but after embarking, the Captain did not go ashore again, and the rest of his crew kept coming ashore three or four (at a time) to attend to their requirements.

On Friday, 5th of the month of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah, they set off on their voyage, some actually putting to sea on Thursday, 4th of the month.

Year 945 H. (A.D. 1538-9) (92a)

[*The extract that follows is quoted from the manuscript (ḡhaṭṭ) of 'Abdullāh Bā Makhramah.*]

On Thursday, 29th of Muḡarram, the Sulṭān set out for Ḥaḡra-mawt,⁷ taking in his company a party of the Franks from the crews of the two grabs moored (*ṭawwahū*) with him (in al-Shiḡr), about fifty in number; the rest had gone to al-Mishḡās, and the Malabarīs (al-Munaibārīyīn) and Hurmūzīs (al-Harāmizah) had attached themselves to them, to the number of about sixty or more

[*They reach Daw'an, and pass up the wādī to Ḳaidūn where they are met by no resistance because it is a Ḥawṭah,⁸ and pass on to attack Buḡah which is a centre of the 'Amūdi Mashāyikh.*]

Towards the end of Ṣafar news came that the Sulṭān in person had encamped against (*ḡaṭṭa 'alā*) al-Aḡrūm,⁹ and had destroyed several places in its wall (*sūr*) with the guns; the soldiers had entered, and on (several) occasions there had been fighting, in the

¹ Though not stated what is to be divided into thirds, the statement immediately following shows that it must relate to the customs duties of al-Shiḡr port.

² The Portuguese *governador* means 'commander', 'governor', 'commandant of a town'. Tarīm MS. *ḡubnūr*, other MSS. *ḡubūr*, without vocalization.

³ See p. 76 n. 1.

⁴ For *mu'ashshar* cf. p. 44, n. 2, *supra*.

⁵ See Note X, p. 177.

⁶ Huraidah MS., the 22nd.

⁷ As always Ḥaḡramawt means the wādī, not the coast.

⁸ i.e. a sacred enclave.

⁹ Of Wādī 'Amd. Spelt Laḡrūm on H. v. Wissmann's earlier map.

course of which a number were slain on both sides. Of the Franks with him one was killed outright, and a bullet (*bunduḳ*) struck the Captain in his hand and face, so they put him in Hainin.¹ The affair so turned out that the people of the town asked for succour and safe-conduct (*ghawth wa-khafr*).² They were granted the latter and departed (the town) with their families and valuables (*athkāl*).

[On the 26th of *Ṣafar* a messenger (mukattib) arrives at al-Shiḥr from Aden carrying diplomas (marsūm) from the Bāshā Sulaimān al-Tawāshī to the Lord of al-Shiḥr. He brought with him news of the arrival of the Turks at Aden, where they bought and sold and took on water. The Turkish soldiers on the 9th of the month (Rabī' I) had fallen to looting Aden when the Bāshā and his suite landed, but though the Bāshā put a stop to this, only some cloth was returned to its owners, none of the money and jewellery. The Bāshā hanged 'Āmir ibn Dā'ūd and his people on board the grabs. He then sent messengers to al-Shiḥr, Ṣan'ā', and elsewhere to inform them that the Turkish expedition was bound for India. In Aden he left a garrison of 500 or 600 Turks under the Emir Bahrām. The expedition left Aden for India on the 23rd of *Ṣafar*.

In Ḥaḍramawt meanwhile the Sultān is busy with campaigns in the Wādīs 'Amd and Daw'an.]

During these days (Djumādā I) news came that one of the Turkish galliots had reached al-Mukallā, and those from it had entered al-Shiḥr. Ahead of it a grab of theirs had reached al-Shiḥr, discharged cargo there, and raised prices (*nadjal fī-hā wa-aghlā*).³ The reason for the galliot and the afore-mentioned grab turning up in al-Shiḥr was because they had put to sea to effect a rendezvous with the (Turkish) expedition, but the wind was of no assistance to them because of the lateness of the season.⁴ . . .

On Thursday, the last day of the month (Djumādā I), Sultān Bādr

¹ Hainin was about this period a sort of capital for the Kathīrī Sultāns in Ḥaḍramawt and base for their campaigns to the west.

² This is obviously a technical term of tribal law. *Ghawth* (aid, assistance) is a technical term applied to a saint, presumably because he gives aid at times of need or danger (cf. the pre-Islāmic god-name Yaghūth). The phrase was said to mean *nadjdah wa-musā'adah* (aid and assistance), as one says *nasta'in bak wa-nastadjir bak* (we ask you for help, and we ask you for protection), but I am not entirely satisfied with this explanation.

³ Cf. *Gl. Daḡ*. The Manāḳib Bā 'Abbād (Saiwūn copy) contains the phrase *nadjalū ḥaḳḳ-hum fī 'l-marākib*. The sense of *aghlā* is a little conjectural; a single MS. has *wa-a'lā*.

⁴ Probably a change in the direction of the monsoon wind is intended.

had left Hainin for Ḥaḍramawt;¹ in Saiwūn he met two of the Turks (Arwām) arrived from al-Shiḥr, dispatched by the master of the galliot already mentioned as having put into al-Mukallā. The purport of the reason for which they had been sent (to Saiwūn) was (as follows). They had set out after Nairūz² bound for India, on the same course ('*alā naḥw*') as Muṣṭafā Bahrām,³ and were desirous of abandoning their galliot in favour of voyaging in grabs. One grab they had with them already, and they wished for two (more) grabs from the Sulṭān. The Sulṭān granted them the two grabs, instructing his Emir to fit them out (*tadjhīz-hum*), and the latter acted according to their wishes. He also gave them a number of the Franks who were with him, to make the voyage along with them to India, to the Bāshā⁴

On Thursday, 4th of the month of Radjab, the Bāshā Sulaimān al-Ṭawāshī the Turk (al-Rūmī) arrived with the expedition at al-Shiḥr port on his return voyage from India. A mighty panic struck the people of al-Shiḥr because they supposed them (at first) to be Franks. The reason for the return of the expedition was because the people of India neither assisted nor supplied them with provision or aught else. The Bāshā had dispatched his slave Farḥāt Shūbāshī with diplomas (*marāsīm*) to the king of Gujerat who was (then) inland (*al-barr*), but he arrested Farḥāt and sent back no answer. The Franks had fortified themselves strongly (*tamakkanū*) in Diu with great impregnable bastions (*kūt*),⁵ and the Bāshā realized that it would be safer to return and ask for more troops, equipment, provision, &c.

On Saturday, 7th of the same month, they sailed from al-Shiḥr port after the Bāshā had sent a standard (*sandjak*) on shore for Sulṭān Badr, landing a company of his men therewith to take it to Sulṭān Badr in Ḥaḍramawt.⁶ Aḥmad b. Muṭrān took the road to the Sulṭān with them.

On Tuesday or Wednesday, 11th of the same month, Aḥmad b. Muṭrān departed with the company of Turks I have mentioned.

¹ By implication Hainin seems almost to have been considered outside Ḥaḍramawt proper.

² One MS. reads *Nawrūz*. Cf. Note R, p. 174. At this date the wind would be blowing *from*, not in the direction of, India.

³ *Sic*, but 'Bairam' should be read; the rendering is perhaps a little free here.

⁴ The text is tantalizingly vague. It looks as though the said Portuguese were renegades.

⁵ See Plate 5.

⁶ i.e. the interior, where the Sulṭān was at the time.

This day also they imposed an annual levy of 10,000 ashrafis on the Lord of al-Shihr, and an envoy used to come for it every year.¹

On Friday, 27th of the same month, the company of Turks who had gone up (to Ḥaḍramawt) with the standard arrived back in al-Shihr. On Wednesday, 3rd of the month of Sha'bān, they left al-Shihr for Aden.

[Quoting *Bā Sandjalāh* and *Bā Makhramah*, the chronicler now describes Turkish activities in the southern Yemen and Egypt. At al-Ṣalīf, near Kamarān Island,² he reports a massacre by the Bāshā of ninety Franks, some of whom he had taken at 'a city near Diu called Goghla' (kūr ḡarīb al-Dīū yusammā Djawdjalah).³ Some thirty other Portuguese had been given him by Sulṭān Badr, as we have seen.⁴ Some Indian and other followers of the Portuguese and a number of Turks of Zabid who had been troublesome during al-Ṭawāshī's absence in India were executed at the same time. In all about 140 men were executed and decapitated, the bodies buried in a well, and the heads sent by sea to Egypt.]

Bā Sandjalāh said . . .

A certain ship's captain of the expedition (*min ma'ālimah al-tadjrīdah*)⁵ upon whom I can rely, said: 'When our sailing-ships put in to Diu harbour the Khawādajā Ṣafar Salmān came aboard them, and he said, "The people of the country (*al-barr*) and I have fallen out concerning⁶ the town, but we have taken the island, now we are besieging the fort (*kūt*), and thank God for your arrival!"'

Now the tale of Ṣafar and of his taking Diu is (as follows). The Franks, as has been related already,⁷ when they murdered Bahādur Shāh, spared Ṣafar, and he became honoured and respected (*muḥtaram wa-muḥtasham*)⁸ by them, for he was, by their way of

¹ Ḥuraidāh MS. ولم يقى لهم كل سنة قاصد. I have not copied this sentence from the Mukallā MS., but I have corrected this passage from the unidentified Saiwūn MS., quoted *infra*, p. 96; this correction is only tentative.

² The Tarīm and Ḥuraidāh MSS. read: *ḡaryat djazīrat Kamarān* (the village of Kamarān Is.), which is palpably wrong since Ṣalīf, though close to the island, is actually on the mainland. It can be seen from the aircraft flying from Aden to Kamarān.

³ Tarīm MS.: *wa-kān akhadh min K w r ṭ ḡarīb al-Dīū*. The Bā Ṣurrah MS. says 'and one of the towns (*kūr*) near Diu (al-Dair) was called Djawdjalah'. The name appears in the *Imperial Gazetteer* as Goghla.

⁴ P. 72.

⁵ Cf. p. 58, n. 1, *supra*.

⁶ It would be possible to translate 'concerning' as 'in'.

⁷ P. 76.

⁸ *Muḥtaram* in S. Arabia seems to have certain technical meanings, and I suspect that it can mean 'exempt from taxation'. Ibn Ḥadjar, *op. cit.* iii. 95-96, gives a definition much in point: 'Muḥtaram — mā ḡurima ḡatlu-hu wa-itlāfu-

looking at it and by that of other people of the Indians apart from them, the (very) eye of Diu, and had been given command of Diu. When, however, he heard of the sailing of the (Turkish) expeditionary fleet and of its certain arrival in India, he became sure that the Franks would arrest and kill or imprison him, so that there would never again be any possible way of escape open to him. So he prepared a ruse to escape from Diu in any event, building (*washar*)¹ (himself) a large vessel, on the grounds that he needed it to voyage close inshore (*taht al-rīḥ*),² taking planks (*sufarāt*)³ of the Frankish merchants. After he had completed the vessel he embarked⁴ on it the gear and tackle (*ālāt*) necessary for (deep-sea) voyaging.

Now Šafar had a house hard by the coast, with a small door on to the shore through which, by order of the Franks, out of their regard (for him), he could go in and out, as seemed fit to him, to the sea when all the gates of the town were locked at night. Sambooks were plying to and from the vessel to lade (*taṭlī*)⁴ as usual, and when the night came for the departure of the vessel—upon which a small grab had been secretly (*ka-'l-khafīyah*) placed, he opened the small door of his house on to the sea, and embarked his women and children in a small sambook, accompanying them himself disguised in women's clothes, his slaves and mariners (*baḥarah*)⁵

hu . . . māḷ al-ḥarbī ghair muḥtaram, Muḥtaram' means 'the killing and destruction of whom is prohibited . . . the property of a person at war with the Muslims is not muḥtaram'.

¹ *Tādj al-'Arūs* and *Gl. Daṭ.* assign *washar* the sense 'to saw (wood)'; from this derives the colloquial meaning of *washar* (*yūshir*), 'to build a ship'. A *markab wishār* is a new ship just out of the shipyard, *'ād-uh mawshūr*. The Leiden MS. 8454a of the Snouck Hurgronje bequest, p. 2, has a poem of Sa'īd b. 'Alī Bā Djarrād containing the verse:

يا مَرَكِبَ الحَرْبِ مُحَلَّى صَنْعَةَ الوَاشِرِ الناس طرَحُوا بِيارَتِهِمْ وَهُوَ نَاشِرٌ

O war-ship, iron-clad, work of the ship-builder,
People have dipped their flags, but it is unfurling.

Muhlā was explained as *muṣaffah bi-'l-ḥadid*.

² For this phrase cf. *supra*, p. 41, n. 2, but it was said of this passage that the wind is strong in the middle sea, so one travels below it, i.e. close inshore.

³ *Sufrah*, syn. *lawḥ* (a plank). Cf. *Prose and Poetry*, text p. 166, where a vessel is described as *sufrah wa-ḥabl kumbār*, i.e. 'a plank and coir-rope', the latter used to sew the planks together. Ulughkhānī, op. cit., p. 287 الخشب السفريّة, perhaps in the sense of ships built of planks, though on p. 274 السفريّة seems to mean 'passengers, travellers'. Cf. *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 45b.

⁴ *Tallā* in this sense in *Gl. Daṭ.*, &c.

⁵ v.r. *baḥriyah*, cf. *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 85b.

being already on board. Then with his children, women, belongings, and slaves he embarked on the grab. To the crew of the vessel he said: 'Set sail for one of the Muslim ports. Take my advice¹ and make for Jeddah, for I am voyaging in this grab of mine to the port of Sūrat Munaiyir² to Sulṭān Maḥmūd.'³

Now it was Khawādījā Ṣafar's custom not to leave his house to appear⁴ to the people until high morning (*duḥā*),⁵ but when he did not make his customary appearance and the Franks became aware that he had slipped away and taken to his heels they dispatched a couple of grabs containing rowers (? *djarrārīn*)⁶ to catch the vessel or the grab. They gave chase but found not a whisper (of them), not a trace!

Ṣafar joined Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the nephew of Bahādur Shāh, who was, at that time, still very young, being less than thirteen years old, and the executive power lay in the hands of his ministers. When Ṣafar arrived, they paid him (due) respect, and he said to them: 'Give me support with troops and equipment and I'll retake your city of Diu for you!' To this they replied, however, making light of him: 'Not so! How ever could you retake Diu?'

Now there was a rift between Sulṭān Maḥmūd and his ministers for after Bahādur Shāh's murder he had won a town north (*nadjdi*)⁷ of Diu; but Ṣafar composed the difference between them and accompanied him to Diu with troops under his command, to do battle with the Frank. Ṣafar himself took a contingent of Arabs, and Abyssinians (*Hubūsh*)⁸ as well as Indians.

¹ This might possibly mean 'take news of us'.

² This seems to be Surat, but the name appears in many forms in Arabic works of this period. In the extracts from the *K. al-Nisbah ila 'l-Mawādi' wa-'l-Buldān* in the *B.S.O.A.S.*, p. 276, it is spelt *Surrat Munaiyir*, but most of the Bā Faḥīh MSS. have the spelling of the text; the vocalization of *Munaiyir* is conjectural, but it has *tashdīd*. *Uluḡkhānī*, op. cit., p. 267, has *Sūrat. Al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 268, has, incorrectly, سرت وسفير.

³ Maḥmūd III of Gujerat.

⁴ Arabic: *baraza*, from which the Swahili word *barazali* (a conference) is derived.

⁵ *Duḥā* is from about 9 a.m. to 11 a.m.

⁶ This rendering is conjectural, but the grab according to Kindermann was often a galley type, and it is well known that the Portuguese used galleys. I suppose it might conceivably mean something like hawsers, and 'Alī Bāshā suggests that the word means 'merchants'. Saiyid Aḥmad al-'Attās informs me that one still says *djurr* (row!), which makes the sense proposed for *djarrārīn* feasible.

⁷ The usual Ḥadramī word for north.

⁸ I think, by Abyssinians, Somalis are intended.

When they had reached Gogala¹ they made a night assault on Diu, killing fifteen Franks, but the rest fled to Gogala fort (*kūt*), and there the Muslims laid siege to them. Now the Franks had the habit of plying to and fro between the said fort and their comrades on Diu Island in sambooks—this during the rainy season (*barsha-kāl*) at the time of torrential downpours.² So after the Khawādjā Ṣāfar had stationed a garrison (*rutbah*) of the Muslims against the fort, he advanced with a body of men toward another small fort at the extremity of Diu Island commanding the land (*yushrif 'ala 'l-barr*). When the tide was low³ they marched over to it on foot and bombarded it with their cannon, assaulted and took it, the Franks fleeing to the island. On the island there was a strong and stoutly fortified wall (*darb*)⁴ and Ṣāfar lay before (*taht*) it to besiege it, the gates being made fast.

The Franks were now filled with alarm (*dhull*),⁵ and held council together, saying: 'We cannot defend the whole island, so it is better for us to withstand the siege⁶ in the Sea Fort (*al-kūt al-bahrī*) and abandon the island.' They then took forty of its merchants under arrest and these latter were besieged along with them. Some of the Muslims from inside the island looked down on to Ṣāfar, saying to him: 'The fort is quite empty of Franks, for they are now all in the Sea Fort.' (At first) he took this for a ruse, but later they were able to confirm that this was so, and entering the island, they took possession of it.

Now the minister previously mentioned was secretly at understanding with the Frank, and his army⁷ at Gogala was besieging the fort there;⁸ and when the Muslims entered Diu Island they

¹ Gogala is near Diu. Cf. p. 86, n. 3, *supra*, and Ulughkhānī, op. cit., p. 252. There is an excellent drawing of Diu which illustrates this passage very well in Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da Índia*, ii. 625.

² The *varṣakāla* rains, cf. M. H. Nainar, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India* (Madras, 1942), p. 121, but cf. *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 60b, 162b, *al-Bishkāl*, and 75a, المطر البشكالي, and 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir, *Djany al-Shamārikh*, pp. 32-33, who calls it *maṭar al-kharīf* (the autumn rain).

³ Arabic: *idhā djazara 'l-bahr*.

⁴ Carlos de Azevedo, 'Goa, Damão, and Diu', *Geographical Magazine* (London, 1954), xxvii. ii. 53-67, has some excellent photographs of Diu fort, moat, and battlements, along with a map of Diu and the Sea-Fort.

⁵ This sense is in the *Gl. Daṭ*.

⁶ The texts vary between *ihtaṣar* and *ikhṭaṣar*, both possible readings.

⁷ Huraiḍah has *khashab* (ships) for *djaish* (army).

⁸ As the text stands this fact seems disconnected and irrelevant, for there is no further reference to it.

laid siege to (its) Frankish fort. During the time they were besieging this fort the (Turkish) expeditionary fleet arrived, so the Bāshā gave them 400 Turks (Rūmī) to attack it, while the grabs went round to Muẓaffarābād because the sea had turned rough (*istakwā*) and they could not land the guns. On arriving at Muẓaffarābād, however, they landed three large guns which they brought up to the coastal fort (*kūt al-barr*), Gogala fort, and bombarded it with them. The fort held about 100 Franks whom they attacked.¹ Following on this, the Franks, the fort garrison, sent (to parley with) Ṣafar. 'We shall leave the fort to you,' they said, 'and go to our comrades in the sea fort, the island fort.' To which Ṣafar replied: 'I have no authority (*mā lī kalām*), for it is with the Bāshā that the authority lies.' So the bearer of the message went to the Bāshā and informed him (of the Portuguese proposal). 'As far as their joining their comrades is concerned,' replied the Bāshā, 'No! But I shall grant you quarter (*amān*), so come down to me, or else remain where you are (*wa-illā makān-kum*).'²

When the messenger returned to them they refused. 'We are better off in our fort', they said, 'than if we were to leave it to come forth to him.' So they sat bombarding them with the guns for two days until ten of them were slain. Thereupon they sought safe-conduct for themselves to go forth to Ṣafar in the island. This the Bāshā granted, and they came down to Ṣafar, ninety men (in all). With Ṣafar they stayed two days, then the Bāshā summoned them to appear before him and invested their chief (*kabīr*) with a robe of honour.

When the waves of the sea were somewhat abated, the (Turks) returned in their sailing-ships to Diu harbour with intent to attack the sea fort; while Ṣafar and his men, Arabs, Abyssinians, Indians, and the 400 Turks, were attacking the fort from the island (side). As the sailing-vessels approached, the fort opened fire on them, so they were unable to come to close quarters with it, but had to retire before it.

Now the Franks had a small fort (*kūt*) in the middle of the neck³

¹ v. r. *kābalū-hum* (Bā Ṣurrah MS.).

² The MSS. vary in the use of *hum* and *kum* in reporting the Bāshā's words.

³ *Ratkah* was defined to me as a *maḥall masdūd*, a narrow bit of land (here a narrow bit of sea, I presume) between two places. *Martūk* means *makhṭūm*, *alladhī yakhtum bain al-shī*. Cf. *martak* (a pin) and *Gl. Daṭ.*, *ratak* (fermer, fixer), *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 113b, l. 18, and *ibid.* ii, fol. 42a, *baina-hum illā ratkah*, here probably a narrow neck of land. Cf. *ibid.* i, fol. 86a, *rutkah*. The Mukallā and Tarīm MSS. read الرقة.

between the island and Gogala, by which the sailing-vessels pass. They hit (some of) the Turkish ships, but the Turks fought an artillery engagement with it (the fort) till they sought quarter (*amān*) from them, on the condition that they would not molest it (the little fort), and it would not molest them, but would allow the (Turks) free passage to the sea fort. In the hands of the Frank there now only remained the sea fort garrisoned by about 400¹ Franks, along with the forty merchants of the town afore-mentioned, whom they had arrested.

The Muslims on the island now set to digging under the ground near the fort, and when they drew close to it they took their houses lying in the immediate neighbourhood of the fort. From these they began to engage with them, putting them to severe straits. The Franks, however, would fire gunpowder² on to them so that, within a few days, (no less than) twenty Turks were burned. They would sally out in front of the fort to attack them and (then) retire to the fort (again).

Now when the Muslims had taken possession of the island and forts, and so nearly was the sea fort taken that it almost seemed within their certain grasp (*karīb yusta'khadh ka-'anna-hu fī aydī-him*),³ papers came to the Bāshā from the south⁴ (saying): 'A fleet of the Frank is bearing down on you.' Whereat the Bāshā was greatly perturbed, and God filled his heart with fear. Now small grabs of the Frank used to put into the fort quite openly. So they said to the Bāshā: 'We might deny them entry into the fort so that they will be unable to join their comrades.' All he said, however, was: 'No, leave them alone, and do not intercept them.'

Şafar and his men whom we have mentioned would carry on warfare against the fort while the Bāshā lay idle in his ship without taking any initiative,⁵ stricken with excessive fear. Then he sent to the Khawādjā Şafar to provide him with pilots (*ma'ālimah*) to

¹ R. S. Whiteway, op. cit., p. 256, states that at the beginning of the siege there were 800 Portuguese soldiers in the fort and 600 fighting slaves, besides numerous followers consisting of women, children, craftsmen, &c.

² Bā Şurrah MS. has *bārūt*, but the Mukallā MS. has بالوومات and the Huraidah copy بالماوقات (99a).

³ Some texts have minor variations here.

⁴ *Min sāfil*, cf. p. 75, n. 5, *supra*. These papers, said to be forged, purported to come from Goa to Diu.

⁵ Arabic: *lā yubdī wa-lā yu'id wa-'inda-hu min al-khawf mā lā mazid 'alai-hi. Radjūl mubdī' mu'id* means a Muslim who has several times encountered the infidel.

show him the route to Dābūl port to meet the Frankish fleet;¹ this, they said, consisted of 150 vessels (*kiṭ'ah*)². When (the message) came to him the Khawādajā Ṣafar supposed him to be speaking the truth, and that he would (in fact) go to meet the (Frankish) fleet, so he gave him pilots (*ma'ālimah*). Before the pilots could embark, however, he saw about fifteen small grabs sailing (*ṣāriyah*) out at sea, and (all) were sure they were the first of the (Frankish) fleet. So the pilots, Ṣafar, those in Diu, and the soldiery supposed³ without question that the (Bāshā) would go to encounter them, and with him embarked the 400 Turks (on detachment) with Ṣafar.

However, when night came, he landed the pilots, and sent round to all the Emirs in the ships with him, saying to them: 'I have resolved, with God's blessing, to return to the Arabian coast as I consider it is in our interest to do so.' To which one of the Emirs replied: 'This won't do you or us any good with Sulṭān Sulaimān (*mā yaḥmil bi-nā wa-bi-ka 'inda 'l-Sulṭān*)!' ⁴ 'This is a diploma (*marsūm*) I have', he answered, '(to show) that it is under my command to give orders with an eye to what I consider to be to our best interest. My considered opinion is that it is to our best interest to return.' So off he sailed to the Arabian coast, and all the ships with him.

He had sent the Emir Farḥāt Shūbāṣī, who has been mentioned before, to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Lord of Gujerat with a present, and the Sulṭān was getting together a present for him in return (*qabil*) for his gift, intending to send it to him, but he departed (in a hurry), leaving Farḥāt behind with Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The Khawādajā Ṣafar had said to him: 'Stop only ten days (longer) and the fort will be taken!' But all he answered him was that they were off to encounter the (Frankish) fleet, ⁵ or Chaul,⁶ and he⁷ ordered him to take the guns which they had landed from⁸ Muzaffarābād.

¹ The Tarīm and Ḥuraidah MSS. read *li'allā* 'lest he meet the Frankish fleet', but this is inappropriate in view of what follows.

² See p. 65, n. 3, *supra*.

³ The Ḥuraidah MS. has *fa-ṭala' al-ma'ālimah*, but Mukallā, correctly, *fa-ẓann al-ma'ālimah*

⁴ The above is according to the Mukallā text, but Ḥuraidah reads *يجمع*.

⁵ All texts have a lacuna.

⁶ Mukallā and Ḥuraidah MSS. Khuyūl.

⁷ Ḥuraidah MS. 'they ordered him'.

⁸ Some MSS. read *kharaḍjū-hā* for *ṭaraḥū-hā*.

The duration of their stay in India was about two months, but they returned unsuccessful. The main part (*aṣl*) of the entire expeditionary fleet comprised sixty-three (vessels), five of which were large galliots, the remainder being grabs. Of these, two grabs took on cargo in al-Shiḥr port, but the others were empty (? *sālīmāt*).¹ (The rest of the narrative (*kalām*) has already been related.)

The Bāshā (returning) went on pilgrimage, travelling by land, while the grabs made the sea-voyage to Jeddah and Suez. Entering Jeddah and Mecca he seized a quantity of goods from the merchants of them, and ordered the merchants (*atdjār*) of Mecca, may God honour it, to take up residence in Jeddah, at Barṭal,² it not being to his pleasure to dwell in a place in Mecca.³

He met with the Sharīf Muḥammad b. Barakāt⁴ in the Sacred Area (al-Haram) at the Makām of Ibrāhīm, upon whom be peace, and then set out shortly before the departure of the Egyptian pilgrimage, this taking place on the night of the 17th of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjdjah. The Sharīf 'Arār,⁵ the Sharīf⁶ Aḥmad b. al-Sharīf Abū Numaiy,⁷ the kādī Tādj al-Dīn al-Mālikī, the kādī Aḥmad b. Ṣahīrah al-Shāfi'ī, and a number of the people of Mecca set out in company with him.

As for the Sharīf 'Arār, he died there in Turkey, while Aḥmad b. Numaiy returned to Jeddah without achieving anything; but the rest returned safely, having obtained what they wanted.

¹ This rendering is conjectural, but 'Alī Bāshā explains it also as *wāḳifāt bi-lā shahnah* (lying idle with no cargo).

² This place is unknown to me.

³ There is some variance between the texts here, the translation being made on a synthesis of the Ḥuraidah and Tarīm MSS. rather than that of al-Mukallā.

⁴ E. Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie* (Hannover, 1927), gives Muḥ. b. Barakāt Abū Numaiy as flourishing between the years 918 and 992 H., the sixteenth century A.D.

⁵ Aḥmad b. Zainī Daḥlān, op. cit., p. 32, speaks of the Saiyid عرار بن عجل and Tādj al-Dīn al-Mālikī. G. de Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca* (London, 1951), p. 129, mentions the 'Qadi Arar', and gives an account of the sending of the mission. The MSS. at my disposal vary between عرار, عرار, عزار. *Al-Sanā' al-Bāhir*, fol. 279b, alludes to Tādj al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Nadjm al-Mālikī; it contains a good account of this episode.

⁶ Ḥuraidah MS. has Saiyid.

⁷ E. Zambaur, op. cit., states that Aḥmad b. Muḥ. Abū Numaiy is known to have flourished between 947 and 960 H. Daḥlān calls him Aḥmad al-Sharīf b. Numaiy, and *al-Barḳ al-Yamanī*, p. 446, Aḥmad son of the Sharīf Abū Numaiy. Some of the MSS. of Bā Faḳīh call him Saiyid, and some Sharīf. *Al-Sanā' al-Bāhir* (fol. 279b) mentions Kādī al-Mu'minīn bi-balad Allāh al-amin . . . Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. Abi 'l-Su'ūd b. al-Ṣahīrah al-Shāfi'ī who was given a stipend of 30 'uthmānis from the *djawālī* of Egypt (MS. *ḥawālī Miṣr*), i.e. the poll-tax on Christians and Jews. Cf. al-Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii. 462. It seems that it was given by preference to the *mudjāwirs* of the Holy Cities, as it was here.

It is said that on his arrival before Sultān Sulaimān at Istanbul, he, i.e. the Bāshā Sulaimān, laid before him documents (*masāṭir*) from the people of Mecca, and letters (*kitābāt*) from Aden, Zabīd, al-Shihr, and elsewhere, (stating) that he had taken India, slain the Franks, and taken possession of their ports, that only a small weak and routed group of them remained; he gave a (detailed) list of ports, (stating) that he had brought tribute (*kharājāt*) from them, and showed him a deal of money and his precious gifts (*tuḥaf*). Thus he allayed the anxiety of the Sultān, but his words were immediately followed by the arrival of the Frank before Suez and panic among the Egyptians. So the Sultān said to him: 'Where now are (all) your (fine) words? You said that they were destroyed—and now here they are in Egypt!' It is said that when he became sure of execution by the Sultān he fled; others say he was executed.

I¹ say:

The entry into Suez of the Frank falls in the year 7 (947 H. (A.D. 1540-1)),² if these words be true,³ and in the year 7 also his execution for the panic of the Egyptians on account of this (Frankish) fleet; because, as indeed will appear later, it entered Suez with the intention of burning the Sultān's fleet a-building there (*al-'imārat al-Sultāniyah*).

In the same year the Khawādjā Ṣafar the Turk took Diu from the Franks and destroyed it, rendering it a desert plain. His capture of it fell before the arrival of the Bāshā's expedition, but its destruction took place after his departure. The rest of the narrative comes in the year 53 (953 H. (A.D. 1546-7)).⁴

UNIDENTIFIED MANUSCRIPT IN SAIWŪN

Year 945 H. (A.D. 1538-9)

By way of reply to his letter, there came to Sultān Badr at al-Shihr port a diploma (*marsūm*) from Egypt. In this they stated that the (ever-)victorious expedition (*al-tadjridah al-manṣūrah*) had left Turkey (al-Rūm), was now in Suez fitting out (*ḡad-hā fi 'l-Suwais mutadajhizah*) to fight the Franks, may God abandon them, that it was bound for India, and consisted of 40,000 Turkish troops, 100 sailing-ships, and 80 grabs. That was in Shawwāl.⁵

¹ i.e. the chronicler.

² P. 100.

³ Arabic: *in kān ḥaṣal hādha 'l-kalām* (Huraiḍah, fol. 100b).

⁴ Cf. p. 106.

⁵ Cf. the same incident entered under the year 944 H. (A.D. 1537-8) in Bā Faḡih, *supra*, p. 79.

In the same year on Thursday, the 26th of Rabi' I, a diploma (*marsūm*) reached Sulṭān Badr from the Bāshā Sulaimān al-Ṭawāshī at Aden (to inform him) that the entire expedition had assembled before Aden, which it had taken without opposition. Its entry into Aden took place on the 7th¹ of Rabi' I. The (diploma) stated that a great quantity of equipment was with the expedition. They took Aden on Monday night, the 12th of Rabi' I, and arrested the Shaikh 'Āmir, him and his Emir 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Khalī,² the said al-Khalī being tyrannical, extortionate, and bold. He ordered them all to be crucified (*ṣalb*),³ and crucify them they did at al-Dja-sāriyah⁴ near the Coast Gate (Bāb al-Sāhil),⁵ nor did they bury them for two days. Then the Bāshā came forth to the city and proclaimed general security (*amān*), appointing an Emir, Bahrām by name, over Aden along with 500 Turks.⁶

The expedition entered Indian (waters), where it remained for about two months, then they returned unsuccessful.

On Wednesday, the 4th of the month of Radjab, the (returning) expedition arrived at al-Shiḥr port, and the Turkish soldiers landed in the town to buy and sell, giving the people safe-conduct. Then the Bāshā demanded the Franks who had been taken prisoner earlier on, to whom Sulṭān Badr had given quarter. So they put them on board, and, sending for the governor (*al-ḡubnūr*)⁷ who was at Ḥuṣn al-'Araf⁸ with his comrades, they handed them over to the Bāshā.

¹ Bā Faḳīh *supra*, p. 84, reads the 9th (*tāsi'*), which I am inclined to accept as correct.

² The MS. reads *wa-'l-Khalī*, probably a mistake. Cf. b. Hāshim, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

³ 'Āmir was hanged (*shanaḡ*) according to other accounts. See p. 86, and *Rawḥ al-Rūḥ*, MS. laud., fol. 49b, which also refers to Sulaimān Bāshah at Kamarān.

⁴ This place seems unknown, but the reading may be incorrect. Another reading is al-Dj sārāh. Might it be Khawr Maksar bridge?

⁵ Bāb al-Sāhil, according to Abū Makhramah (O. Löfgren, *Arabische Texte* . . . , p. 14), west of the main gate to the harbour.

⁶ Cf. p. 84. It may date from this period that Aden is called Bandar al-Turki today, as well as Bandar Djadīd and Bandar 'Adan.

⁷ See Note Y, p. 177.

⁸ In Wādī 'Araf (cf. Muḥ. b. Hāshim, *Rihlat ila 'l-Thaghra'in*, Cairo, 1350 H.), on the route from al-Shiḥr to Ḳabr Hūd in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt; it is also shown on W. Thesiger's map in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*. This fort would be well out of reach of Portuguese cruising along the coast, yet quite near the sea. The usual road to Ḥaḍramawt was through al-Shiḥr and 'Araf according to the Ḥaḍramī MS. *al-Iklīl al-Waḳḳād*, hagiologies of the Āl Bā 'Abbād.

On the Thursday the Emir Aḥmad b. Muṭrān,¹ Emir of al-Shiḥr on behalf of Sulṭān Badr, came to the Bāshā on board, for the Bāshā lay at sea with his sailing-ships. Sulṭān Badr being absent in Ḥaḍramawt, the Bāshā invested him (with a robe of honour), and he came away (expressing) gratefulness. When the Emir met with the Bāshā the latter said to him: 'I wish to send Sulṭān Badr a diploma constituting a province (*bi-'aḳd al-wilāyah*) from the gate of Aden to the town of Zufār, and he is our comrade and friend.'² The Emir Aḥmad brought on board presents for the Bāshā along with what they required from the town.

On the Friday they sent forth the diploma to Ḥaḍramawt, accompanied by the Emir Aḥmad and four persons from the Bāshā's entourage, the reply to the diploma to be dispatched to Aden.

On the 8th of Radjab, the Bāshā and his comrades set off for Aden, leaving a grab behind for the party that had gone off to Ḥaḍramawt to deliver the diploma (*li-tanfidiḥ al-marsūm*).

On the Lord of al-Shiḥr the Bāshā imposed (the sum of) 10,000 ashrafis, to be delivered at the beginning ('*ain*') of every year.³ This took place and was concluded, and every year their envoy would come for the said levy (*murattab*).

The Bāshā went to Aden, and thence to Kamarān, and then Zabīd, which he took without opposition, appointing an Emir to it.

AL-SANĀ' AL-BĀHIR (279a)

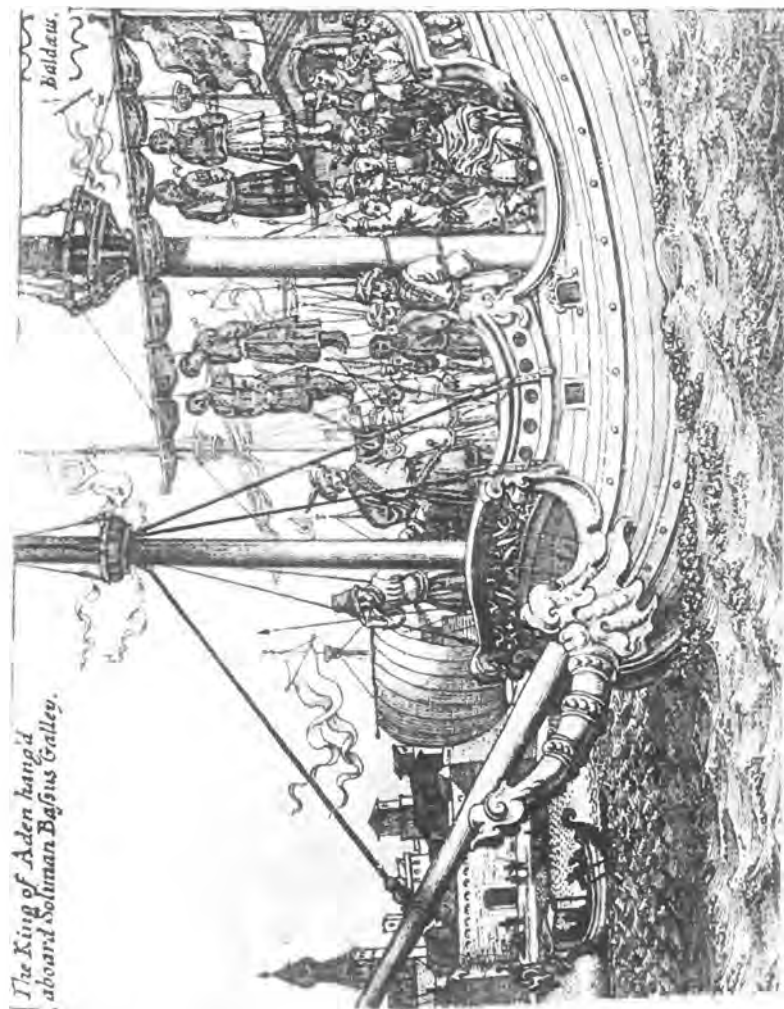
Year 945 H. (A.D. 1538-9)

After he had had his will of Egypt, Sulaimān Bāshā put to sea with seventy grabs and thirty galliots. On arriving at Aden, its Lord 'Āmir b. Dā'ūd opened it before him and collected for him the provisions he wanted, since he had heard that he was come to ward off the threat (*adhā*) of the Frank. Accompanied by his vizier he then went forth to greet the Bāshā, but no sooner did the latter see Aden Gate open than he ordered his troops to enter

¹ Evidently a son of the Muṭrān slain by the Portuguese, p. 53 *supra*.

² Arabic: *ṣāḥib-nā wa-ṣadiḳ-nā*. If this implies the territory from Aden to Zufār, it appears that the Turks were granting Sulṭān Badr suzerainty over great areas in which he had neither *de facto* nor *de iure* sovereignty. This, at least, is how I understand the text, i.e. as constituting Badr Turkish governor over the area.

³ Van den Broeke estimated the tribute in A.D. 1614 (1022-3 H.) at '4,000 réales de huit et de 20 livres de bon ambre gris'. See pp. 26 and 28, *supra*.



'Āmir b. Dā'ūd and his Emir 'Abd al-Šamad al Khali hung at Aden by Sulaimān al-Ṭawāshī in 1538
(cf. pp. 84, 95-97)

(From A. and J. Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 1704-32, after Baldaeus)

PLATE 5



Bastion of St. Nicholas, Diu Fortress, the massive construction of which might be compared with the Castelo Vila Viçosa in Portugal

Aden; and, when they reached him, he gave orders that 'Āmir and his entourage be executed and crucified, while their houses should be looted. This he accounted among his victories, writing upon Aden Gate that he had conquered it in the year 45.

Then he set forth bound for India. Now the Emir Muṣṭafā and the Khawādjā Ṣafar had already come to Sulṭān Bahādur Shāh who had treated both generously. To Muṣṭafā he granted the title of Rūmī Khān, giving him the port of Diu, and to the Khawādjā Ṣafar the title of Khudāwand Khān. When Sulaimān Bāshā arrived (in India) he landed at Muẓaffarābād, and the Khawādjā Ṣafar sent him presents, intending to go to him, but one of Sulaimān Bāshā's companions advised him (against this), telling him of what the Bāshā had done in Egypt and Aden; so he continued to serve him at a (safe) distance, excusing his inability (to come to him in person).

Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh sent Sulaimān one of his viziers with orders to assist him in the Holy War, but Sulaimān treated him with disdain and would not grant him permission to sit. So the vizier departed and told this to the Sulṭān. Sulaimān then sent a robe (*kufṭān*) and a sword to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, but to the messenger the Sulṭān said: 'Tell your master, "If this be from His Presence Sulṭān Sulaimān we shall wear it, but if it come from you, then it does not accord with your rank to send us a robe of honour."' ' When the messenger brought him back this answer he was filled with rage and bitterly regretted letting Sulṭān Maḥmūd's vizier go.

Thus were their spirits filled with malevolence and Sulṭān Maḥmūd instructed Khudāwand Khān to contrive some means of inducing the Bāshā to withdraw. To this end he forged a letter in Frankish writing from their chief (*kabīr*) in Goa (Kuwwah) to their chief at Diu, (the purport of which was) that 'We have assembled the forces and are standing by with 300 grabs and 50 galliots, so as we appear at sea make a sortie that we may slay the Turkish troops'. Khudāwand Khān spread it abroad that he had arrested the Frankish envoy (*kāṣid*) and seized his letters, about which Sulaimān on hearing of it sent to ask him. To this he replied: 'The matter is as you have heard.' Thereat he became fearful, for he was a coward whose courage was known of only against those who fell into his hands as prisoners, and his troops had become dispersed because the people of India had induced them away,¹ so he fled.

¹ That is to say they had probably bribed them to take local service.

[The author goes on to tell of his evil deeds in *Djāzān* and the *Hejaz*.]

UNIDENTIFIED MANUSCRIPT IN SAIWŪN

Year 946 H. (A.D. 1539-40) (102a)

On Wednesday, 7th of the month of Rabī' I, a grab arrived at Aden, on board which came an emissary from the court (*bāb*) of Sulṭān Sulaimān, (bearing) with him diplomas (*marāsīm*) to the Emir Bahrām and the kādī 'Abd al-Raḥmān Bā Makhramah, ratifying the (constitution of) the province (*wilāyah*); to the Imām, the Lord of Ṣan'ā', (he brought) a robe of honour and a diploma ratifying the existing state of affairs (*bi-taḥrīr al-aḥwāl*), the dispatch of caravans (*ḥawāfil*) to Aden, and (establishing) peace and security (*al-amān wa-'l-iṭmi'nān*).¹

TĀRĪKH AL-SHIḤRĪ (107a)

Year 947 H. (A.D. 1540-1)

The faḳīh 'Abdullāh Bā Makhramah said:

In this year in the month of Ṣafar, while we were in Jeddah the news reached us that a grab of the Frank had passed by Aden port, firing off its guns at it. It then passed beyond it in the direction of Bāb al-Mandab, and then to Sawākin and Dahlak. It fell in with a number of sailing-ships and killed, in those it captured, parties of Muslims, to such an extent that one of those arriving from Dahlak informed me that the number of Muslims captured was 300 or even more, and it looted a large quantity of goods. Yet none resisted it² or disturbed it in any way, though both Aden and Zabīd were crammed with Turkish soldiers, equipment, and other supplies

In this year the abandoned Frank dispatched about seventy sailing-ships, both small and large, from Goa bound for Suez, with the intent of burning³ the fleet under construction (*al-'imārah*),⁴ but on hearing there were soldiers stationed there, they returned to Dahlak where they all anchored (*tawwahū*).

¹ This looks like a cliché of tribal law, but is also a literary expression.

² Arabic لم يصدده صاد.

³ Ḥuraidah MS. *ḥarāb*, but it looks as if it had been altered from *ḥarāḡ* which is in the Mukallā MS.

⁴ Lopes, *Extractos*, p. 22, has *bi-tartīb 'imārah kabīrah fī Miṣr*.

I¹ say:

In Bā Sandjalah's manuscript (*khatt*) I remarked that when the Frank entered Sawākin he made a truce (*ṣalāh*) with its inhabitants, but in the case of Dahlak he looted it, taking a number of its people prisoner because they had murdered a party of the (Frank).

A contingent about 100 strong landed on the coast by way of assistance for the Ḥaṭī² King of Abyssinia (al-Ḥabashah), but the Ḳarād³ Aḥmad al-Mudjāhid dispatched⁴ an expedition (*tadjrīdah*) against them which slew them to the last man. When they got to hear of the death of their comrades they murdered a number of the inhabitants of Muṣawwa'. A quantity of goods was looted there, and their children, male and female (even), were robbed.⁵

He (the Frank) entered al-Ḳuṣair,⁶ and at al-Ṭawr⁷ he rifled a house there belonging to the Emir Bahrām, the Turk who had been Emir of Aden when Muṣṭafā entered India.⁸ In al-Ṭawr he looted none but Bahrām's property, burning the immovables, but its inhabitants were preserved from the (Frank) because the most of them were Christians from Syria settled there.

It is a most remarkable thing that the said Emir Bahrām, when he left Aden where he had acquired much money, having departed with this property to Mecca, going up the mountain ('Arafāt) to perform the *wuḳūf*-ceremony,⁹ had left the property, all of it, in a house in Mecca with his slaves. Almighty God, however, so

¹ i.e. Bā Faḳīh, the chronicler.

² Ethiopic Ḥaṣē. The Arabic form is given in such sources as al-Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Sulūk*, i. ii. 610 and 616, and *al-Ilmām* (Cairo, 1895), p. 4, where the title is given the sense of *khalīfah*; R. Basset, *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Abyssinie* (Paris, 1897), p. 330; *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 68b, *manāzil al-Ḥaṭī*, *Sulṭān al-Ḥabashah*; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia* (Oxford, 1952), p. 69.

³ Cf. p. 81, n. 4, *supra*. He is Gradamet (sometimes called Aḥmad Grān) (G. W. F. Stripling, *The Ottoman Turks and the Arabs 1511-1574* (Illinois, 1942), p. 97). He was also nicknamed Grān, 'the left-handed', by the Abyssinians (Trimingham, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85). The latter source also gives the variant spelling *Djarād*, a title carried by governors of Muslim provinces tributary to Abyssinia, but adapted by Muslims with the general sense of feudal governor. A plural *djarādāt* is given by Basset, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

⁴ Arabic: *djarrad*.

⁵ There is a difficulty here as to whether actives or passives should be read.

⁶ The MSS. have al-Ḳaṣr, which must be altered to al-Ḳuṣair as *infra*, p. 100.

⁷ i.e. of Sinai, at the entrance to the Gulf of Suez.

⁸ Is the reading 'Muṣṭafā' correct? Sulaimān must be intended.

⁹ A. J. Wensinck and J. H. Kramers, *Handwörterbuch des Islam* . . . (Leyden, 1941), p. 801, 'Verweilen der Pilger auf einer beliebigen Stelle innerhalb der 'Arafa-Ebene, das am Nachmittag des 9. Dhu 'l-Ḥijdjā beginnt'.

decreed that his slaves should light a lamp in the house, and the house was set in a blazing mass of flames and all its contents, effects, or money (*kumāsh wa-māl*) burned—though no other house but that of the Emir alone was burned.

Now when the fleet (*tadjhīz*) of the Frank entered al-Ṭawr it stopped there about five days and then it sailed off bound toward Suez. As it sailed off from al-Ṭawr, a Turkish Emir approached from Egypt intending to take over the fleet under construction (*'imārah*) and dispatch an expedition to the Yemen, when he was told: 'Those are the sailing-ships of the Frank at sea.' So he was stricken with panic, and going up to Egypt and its provinces he said to them: 'Warn the fleet under construction to be on guard!'¹ So they put it on its guard before the arrival of the Frank. When they, I mean the Franks, did reach Suez, eight grabs put out by night to reconnoitre the port, but found the port alert and the soldiers many. So they returned to their comrades and, after scuttling a number of dhows (*djilāb*), some at al-Ḳuṣair, others at al-Ṭawr, they departed. The abandoned one (the Frank) now returned to Dahlak where he lingered a few days; he then set off on his voyage at the time of the closure (*taghlik*)² of the sea.

In Rabī' II of this year, eight sailing-ships, galliots containing personnel, arrived at Mocha and Aden from Egypt. (Others) aver that they consisted of twelve large galliots containing provision and Turkish soldiers, reinforcements for the people of the Yemen. They gave people cause (at first) to suppose they were an expedition of the Frank . . .

In Rabī' II of this year (also), a vessel hailing from Mocha, laden with a cargo of madder (*fuwwah*)³ bound for (*bāghī*) India, put into port. Because of damage (*ghīyār*)⁴ to the vessel the leakage (*djimmah*)⁵ had become too great for them, so they put into Ḥairīdj and discharged (*nadjal*) some of her cargo in order to repair her, when there appeared two grabs of the Frank, one of which had been moored (*tawwāhī*)⁶ at Dahlak while the other had

¹ Mukallā MS. *adhku 'l-'imārah fa-adhkaw-hā* ('set the fleet alight', and they set it alight). The Ḥuraidāh MS. reads, *udruku 'l-'imārah fa-darakū-hā*.

² See Note Z, p. 178.

³ The Bā Ṣurrah MS. has *dhurah*.

⁴ *Gl. Daṭ., ghayār or ghyār* (damage, defectiveness).

⁵ *Ibid., djamma, s'imbibier d'eau, absorber l'eau*. Saiyid Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭās knows the word in Ḥadramawt as *yimmah* (always), and in Bahrain *yammah* is bilge-water.

⁶ This form occurs many times in the *Instructions nautiques*.

been at al-Mishkāṣ. They met at al-Mukallā, passed by al-Shiḥr, and, arriving at Ḥairīdj, seized the vessel; but in return for a sum of money they released it at Qishn, and voyaged on to India, I mean the Franks, may God not attend them with his peace.

Year 948 H. (A.D. 1541-2) (111a)

The faḳīh 'Abdullāh Bā Makhramah said:

On Wednesday night, 2nd of the month of Muḥarram, a large grab put in from Surat Munaiyir¹ with a tale (to tell), namely that in the month of Dhu 'l-Ḥijdah² it had arrived in al-Bāb³ to find two or three grabs of the Frank there. These latter had arrived at the passing of the (Frankish) fleet,⁴ but stopped when they came (to this point). God so caused it that this Munaiyirī grab reached al-Bāb, and the Franks possessed themselves of it, sailing off with it in the direction of al-Mashākīṣ.⁵ When they stood off Aden⁶ they came on a sambook belonging to a man of al-Shiḥr, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, he and his son being with it, come out of Berbera. The Franks took them, scuttled their sambook, and putting them aboard the Munaiyirī grab, sailed off.

Reaching Burūm they took on water there, and one grab from the squadron continued to escort the Munaiyirī grab after they, I mean the Franks,⁷ had put nine men aboard, taking a number of the merchants with them in their (own) grabs. Now God so caused it that, when they were off al-Mukallā harbour, a hurricane struck and parted them, the Munaiyirī being left by itself. So the Muslims agreed together to overcome⁸ the nine men with them. They attacked them and sailed (back) to Aden, which they reached in the evening on Wednesday night, praise be to God.

¹ Cf. p. 88, n. 2, *supra*. All MSS. have *سيرة منير*.

² The Mukallā and Bā Ṣurrah MSS. have Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah—corrected to the above.

³ Cf. p. 67, n. 3, *supra*.

⁴ Cf. p. 98 *supra*.

⁵ Mukallā MS., al-Mishkāṣ: Mashākīṣ (a plural is said to mean the inhabitants of al-Mishkāṣ). Al-Mishkāṣ means loosely E. of al-Shiḥr, and the Mahrah coast.

⁶ Mukallā and Tarīm MSS., *ḥadhaw*, which I have translated as if it were Stem III *hādhaw*, but the Bā Ṣurrah and Huraidah MSS. have simply *dakhalū* (they entered), though to speak of entering the port while in Turkish hands seems difficult.

⁷ Huraidah MS. omits 'I mean'.

⁸ Arabic: *fa-adjma'a ra'y al-Muslimīn 'alā ra'y al-tis'at al-anfār*. I should have expected such a word as *ḳatl* for the second *ra'y*, and have rendered the passage in this sense.

In Rabī' I of this year the fleet of the Frank passed towards al-Shiḥr on its return voyage from the north (al-Sha'm)—its entry into Suez has been described earlier. It returned, may God abandon it, on the 270th day of Nairūz,¹ during the closure of the sea (*taghlik al-baḥr*),² entering Qishn to take on water there. Six months (had elapsed) from the time it entered the north until its return to Goa, for its departure from Goa fell in Ramaḍān of year 7 (947 H. (A.D. 1541-2)) and its return to Goa in Rabī' I of this year (948 H.)

In this, and in the preceding year, reference has been made to the Frankish expedition which reached Suez.

Now, when they put in to Dahlak they landed 500 Franks³ on the Abyssinian coast in support of al-Ḥaṭī, the king of Abyssinia,⁴ after the Imām al-Mudjāhid Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Mākhidī⁵ had vanquished him and become possessed of all Abyssinia, (even) getting hold of one⁶ of his sons. So he (al-Ḥaṭī) sought the aid of the Franks, and they came and landed in Abyssinia along with their equipment. The Christians—the people of Abyssinia—joined with them, and together they gave battle to al-Mudjāhid whom they routed. Their superior strength being manifest, al-Mudjāhid and the Muslims became greatly perturbed, and afraid (*khashyū*) to face them.⁷ The Abyssinians reinforced⁸ them, and al-Mudjāhid became sadly exhausted, while panic overcame the soldiers. So the Imām al-Mudjāhid sent to the Bāshā Muṣṭafā

¹ From the data given *supra* this would be towards the end of May.

² Cf. Note Z, p. 178.

³ Trimmingham, *op. cit.*, p. 87. In the reign of Galāwdewōs 400 Portuguese arrived at Massawa (A.D. 1541 (947-8 H.)). Cf. R. S. Whiteway, 'The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia', *Hakluyt Soc.* (London, 1892), II. x (Castanhoso), covering the years 1541-3, and C. F. Beckingham's recent 'Note on the Topography of Aḥmad Grān's Campaigns in 1542', *Journal of Semitic Studies* (Manchester, 1959), IV. iv. 362-73, with a map.

⁴ Cf. p. 99, n. 2, *supra*.

⁵ Bā Fakīh states that this Aḥmad was murdered in 950 H. (A.D. 1543-4).

⁶ Aḥmad Grān captured Minas, son of Lebna Dengel.

⁷ Aḥmad Grān already had a force of Turkish matchlock men with him, but the Portuguese introduced cannon, with which they were able to capture the flat-topped hills (*ambā*), hitherto impregnable. Portuguese arms turned the Muslims reluctant to face the Abyssinians, and when the 500 Turks arrive their equipment is specially mentioned.

⁸ *Ammadat-hum al-Iibashah* I understand as 'reinforce' rather than 'supply'. After his two defeats in the neighbourhood of Antalo, Aḥmad Grān retired to Zabl (Zabul), on the eastern edge of the plateau, where support from Arabia could easily reach him without Portuguese knowledge.

Nashshār the Turk at Zabīd, who reinforced him with 500 Turks and their equipment.¹

These latter came up from the coast of Bailūl;² al-Mudjāhid, on learning of their arrival, sent to (meet) them camels, provisions, and all they required. But, something of a quarrel taking place between them (*ḥaṣal baina-hum ba'd mushādjarah*), a section of them returned to Bailūl, stopping at the coast, while the rest went up to al-Mudjāhid. With him they gave battle to the Franks, and God granted them victory.

The Turks, however, were inspired by cupidity³ (*yaṭma'ū 'alā*) of al-Mudjāhid, and a party of desperadoes (*mufādīn*) came to him in deputation, entering his own tent, saying: 'We want 10,000 ūḳiyahs⁴ of gold this very moment or else we shall kill you!' He returned them a most favourable answer,⁵ but their comrades got to hear of it, and others did the same. So now, when he had come to know what they were like, and (since) God had decreed victory over the Frank so (complete) that he annihilated all but fifty of them who took to flight along with the king of Abyssinia,⁶ al-Mudjāhid fitted out the Turks for their departure, treating them kindly and using them well. He presented them with 2,000 ūḳiyahs of gold, and sent to the villages through which they must

¹ Trimmingham, op. cit., p. 89, gives the figure as 900 Turks, 10 cannon. The authorities vary as to the number of Turks sent to reinforce Ahmad Grān.

² My colleague G. W. B. Huntingford has given me the following note: 'It is written Beilur or Bailul. Le Grand, in his translation of Lobo, writes it Baylur, and says, "Baylur est à douze lieues de Babelmandeb . . . Baylur est un Port de Dancali, et Dancali un Royaume fort petit, stérile, et peu peuplé; le Roy et ses sujets sont Mahométans".' Bailūl is noted in the *K. al-Nisbah ilā 'l-Mawāḍi' wa-'l-Buldān*, p. 275.

³ Castanhoso, op. cit., p. 69, gives as the reason for the departure of the Turks, their anger at his execution of Dom Cristovão da Gama, for they had wished to send him as a trophy to Constantinople.

⁴ The epitome of Abū Makhramah's two *Fatāwā* collections in photocopy at the S.O.A.S. states (cf. p. 28 *supra*) (fol. 156b), 'urfu-hum anna 'l-ūḳiyah yu'abbar bihā 'an sab'ah danānīr wa-'l-'asharah 'an 'asharah danānīr', i.e. that their ūḳiyah is 7 dinārs.

⁵ The Arabic implies he gave them all, or nearly all, they demanded. For the phrase following the Mukallā MS. has, incorrectly, *wa-a'lam*.

⁶ More than 50 Portuguese escaped after their defeat at Wofla, but they broke into two parties which were not aware of each other's survival. About 50 men under Manoel da Cunha retreated northwards, hoping to find a ship at Massawa to take them to India. The other party, some 120, took refuge on a mountain with the Queen Dowager, Sabla Wangel, and was later joined by the King, who had not been present at the battle of Wofla. (C. F. B.)

pass that they should be conveyed by them without any incident on the part of (the villagers). He also provided them with provisions and a guide till they reached the coast of Bailūl—whence they made the voyage to Zabīd.¹

The Franks, on the other hand, reinforced their comrades in Abyssinia with five grabs packed with Franks. The Turks received intelligence (of them) when they entered (the straits of) Bāb al-Mandab, there being nine grabs of Turks in Aden harbour (at the time). This was about the time of their arrival from the port of Suez as an independent expedition (*tadjrīdah*) under the command of an Arab² admiral. When (this expedition) arrived in Aden, they put it about (*ṣaiyatū*) that they were of Sulṭān Badr's advice, and under orders to destroy al-Mishkāṣ, but, on receiving intelligence of the five grabs of the Frank, they sailed off in their direction. Off Bāb al-Mandab they sighted one another (*tashāwafū*)—the grabs of the Frank entering al-Bāb (strait), and they after them, but night fell over all so that they became scattered. Re-assembling, the Turks put into Mocha, but of the Frankish (expedition) four grabs came out (of the straits) and returned (to India), while one went on nearly as far as Jeddah. There it met with a grab in which there were both people and property, Turks and others, pilgrims. This took place in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah of the same year. One of the slaves of Sulṭān Sulaimān killed³ them, and it returned to India. For fear of the Turks they made no contact with the Abyssinians; thus, if God will, was the reinforcement (*māddah*) of the (Frank) cut off from Abyssinia by the blessing of God.

I say:⁴

I do not know what the faḳīh 'Abdullāh Bā Sandjalāh means when he says, 'One of the slaves of Sulṭān Sulaimān killed them, and it returned to India.' But God knows!

In Bā Sandjalāh's manuscript (*khatt*) at one point of his drafts (*min miswaddāti-hi*) after mentioning the above, he says: 'Four grabs indeed came out (of the straits) and entered Indian (waters),

¹ See Note AA, p. 178.

² The Bā Ṣurrah and Tarīm MSS. read *gharbī*.

³ From Bā Faḳīh's own note *infra* this is clearly wrong, though all MSS. are identical. A marginal annotation in the Ḥuraidah MS. (fol. 114a) proposes reading *fa-ḳatalū* or *fa-ḳātala-hum*. So for 'killed' one might read 'fought with'.

⁴ i.e. the chronicler.

but the fifth reached Jeddah and took a dhow in which there was property and two slaves (*mamlūkain*) belonging to Sulṭān Sulaimān. When the Lord of Zabīd, Muṣṭafā Nashshār,¹ heard (of this) he dispatched a messenger (*mukattib*) to the Mahrah telling them to release² the slaves, and a note (*warakah*) to Sulṭān Badr.'

On Wednesday, the 8th of Dhu 'l-Ḥijdah of the same year, a Frankish grab arrived before al-Shiḥr port, spying out intelligence of the Abyssinians and the Turk. At al-Shiḥr it met with three vessels out of India, one of which had a paper (*khatt*)³ to al-Shiḥr, the two others having their papers (*khutūt*) to al-Mishkāṣ. It fined the people of one of the two vessels 2,000 ashrafis, and seized two open skiffs (*tarrād*) from the port, releasing them in return for 200 ashrafis. It stayed about the port to rob (*takhaṭṭaf*) and, going to the Islands (al-Djuzur),⁴ it found an open skiff from⁵ Zaila' with a cargo of coffee-husk (*kishr*)⁶ and ghee (*saman*), with which it put into al-Shiḥr, which, as the Sulṭān (al-Dawlah) would not redeem it, it took on to al-Mishkāṣ.

Year 951 H. (A.D. 1544-5) (121b)

On Thursday, the 25th of Ramaḍān, the three grabs⁷ arrived at al-Shiḥr, from al-Mishkāṣ, and met with Sulṭān Badr. Then, on the 2nd day of the Feast 'Īd al-Fiṭr, they set out in the direction of al-Mishkāṣ, catching up with an open skiff (*tarrād*) belonging to Muḥammad⁸ b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Afrār, the Lord of Socotra,⁹

¹ The texts have Bashshār, but F. Wüstenfeld, *Yemen im IX (XVII) Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1884) confirms the correction.

² Perhaps in return for a ransom?

³ Supposing that by *khatt* the author does not mean a *laissez-passer* from the Portuguese, improbable under the circumstances, it might mean a bill of lading or consignment note. A mere letter is unlikely to have provoked Portuguese reaction. Bills of lading are known to the *Mulakhkhaṣ al-Fitan* (A.D. 1412-13) (cf. p. 34, n. 5), and Ibn Ḥadjar (see p. 34) speaks of written contracts with passengers.

⁴ i.e. the Ḥuṣn al-Ghurāb group of islands. Cf. *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 131b.

⁵ The MSS. read *fī Zaila'*, but from the context it is evident that the Portuguese grab was hanging round al-Shiḥr, and unlikely to go so far afield as Zaila'. The *fī/min* confusion is common.

⁶ These are exports of the African side of the Red Sea; it is interesting to find coffee-husk exported from Abyssinia at this date. Cf. the article by C. F. Beckingham and the writer, in the *Geog. J.* cxv. 197, for the drinking of *kishr* in Ḥaḍramawt in A.D. 1590. Ibn Ḥadjar, op. cit., ii. 240, *kishr al-bunn*.

⁷ See Note BB, p. 178.

⁸ Mukallā MS., al-Ḥamad.

⁹ See p. 157 for the Mahri rulers of Socotra.

containing a number of persons whom they took prisoner, later setting one at liberty.

They¹ found a Frankish galliot laden with some cargo accompanied by eight Franks. They beached (*djaḥabū*)² the galliot on the coast. One Frank they killed, and one they took prisoner.

I say:

I think it was becalmed (*sākiṭah*), from one of the ports of the Frank.

Year 953 H. (A.D. 1546–7) (132b)

In this year the Khawādja Ṣafar Salmān was slain. It happened in this wise, that the Khawādja Ṣafar and a number of the inhabitants of Diu³ had a dispute⁴ with the Frank, and fighting took place between them, and a siege, because the Muslims were pressing the Franks hard. The Khawādja Ṣafar was killed by a bullet (*bunduḳ*), or, according to other reports, a cannon-ball (*midfa*)—this towards the close of Rabi' II.

The Saiyid 'Abd al-Ḳādir⁵ said:

In this year, on the 6th night from the end of Rabi' II, the great Emir, the Khawādja Ṣafar Salmān the 'Turk, who bore the title Khudāwand Khān, was slain. (The sentence) 'Naba' ḳat⁶ Ṣafar' (News of the death of Ṣafar) adds up to the date of his death. He was famed for his courage, compassion, his benevolence, and his kindness, may God rest his soul. (Concluded.)

Then the abandoned (Franks) attacked, and, making a sortie against the Muslims, they fought each other with tremendous carnage. It is said that grabs⁷ made an assault on them (also).

In mid-Ramaḍān, Muḥarram, son of the Khawādja Ṣafar, and Djūdjar Khān⁸ the Abyssinian were killed. In company with a

¹ The Turkish grabs, I presume.

² Cf. p. 80, n. 1.

³ There is the usual confusion of readings between al-Dair and al-Diu.

⁴ The Mukallā and Huraidah MSS. read *tahālafū* (concluded an alliance).

⁵ Cf. *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 241; Ulughkhānī, op. cit., p. 276.

⁶ All texts have *maḳtal*, which is incorrect, as with such a reading the chronogram would not amount to 953. Danvers, op. cit. i. 470, and R. S. Whiteway, op. cit., p. 307, give the date as 24 June 1546.

⁷ Ulughkhānī, op. cit., p. 277, confirms that Frankish grabs were engaged in this operation.

⁸ Cf. Ulughkhānī, op. cit., p. 276, who gives a full account, spelling the name Djūdjar as *جوجيار*.

party of the Muslims they attacked the Franks by mounting a ladder against their fort (*kūt*) on the sea flank.¹ They fought (hand to hand) with the fort, but the ladder broke, their comrades were repelled, and (thus) the Muslims were routed. This was the last engagement. Of the Franks and the Christian converts (*mutanaṣṣirah*) about 1,700² were slain, and of the Muslims about 2,000; it is said that ten of the ministers were killed. The Franks re-entered their fort, a large fleet (*tadjrīdah*) belonging to the Frank appeared, and they entered the town. Perceiving that they were powerless (to do anything), the Muslims withdrew from the town.

This news reached Sulṭān Badr from India in a swift vessel (*ṭalī'ah*)³ with Muḥammad b. Ḥasmī⁴ the Mahrī who arrived on 'Thursday, 6th of the month of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah of the said year.

Year 954 H. (A.D. 1547-8) (134b)

[*Alī b. Sulaimān al-Tawlakī*⁵ takes Aden from its reduced Turkish garrison, the remainder of which asks for quarter. This he grants, dispatching them to al-Shiḥr. He is, however, slain in an engagement with the Turkish troops returning from the Yemen, but his son is able to resist them in Aden, where, at this time, two Portuguese grabs with a number of Mahrāh happened to be anchored. The Turks retreat to Lahej and send for reinforcements to Zabīd and Ṣan'ā'.]

On Saturday, the 28th of Ramaḍān of this year, two Frankish grabs arrived from Hurmūz at al-Shiḥr port with a message to the Lord of Aden⁶ 'Alī b. Sulaimān, bringing with them a present, attendants (*mahātīrah*),⁷ and letters (*kutub*).⁸

The retaking of it (Aden) will (be related) in the year after this.

Year 955 H. (A.D. 1548-9) (135a)

In this year on Thursday, the 14th of the month of Muḥarram,

¹ They attacked the bastions of S. João and S. Thomé, entering the latter.

² Ulughkhānī, op. cit., p. 282, confirms this figure.

³ See Appendix II, p. 136.

⁴ Mukallā MS. حسمى; Bā Ṣurrah MS. حميني; Tarīm MS. حسمى المحمدي المهري; Huraidah MS. حميني. I have preferred Ḥasmī which, I am informed, is a Mahrī name.

⁵ The Tawlakīs had some connexion with al-Ḥāfah, capital of Dathinah.

⁶ All MSS. insert here 'Lord of Aden and 'Alī b. Sulaimān'.

⁷ Cf. p. 56, n. 2, *supra*.

⁸ The *Rawḥ al-Rūḥ*, fol. 57b, states that 'Alī b. Sulaimān had agreed with the Franks and formed an alliance (*muhālafah*) that they should be a single authority over (or, act in alliance over) Aden ('*alā salṭanat 'Adan yad wāḥid*).

the Turks took Aden¹ and executed Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Sulaimān.²

On Monday, 9th of the month of Ṣafar of the same year, the expedition (*tadjhīz*) of the Frank, may God abandon him, arrived from Goa before Burūm harbour, sending envoys to Aden port³ after 'Alī b. Sulaimān al-Tawlakī had seized it from the Turks, and stirred up their greed to take it. It is said they arrived to join him at his (own) invitation to them, so they might assist him against the Turks.

The first to reach Burūm consisted of twenty-two grabs and a large galliot, but, previous to that, six grabs had gone ahead in advance in two separate squadrons of three. The three arriving first at Aden came only to find that the town was already in the hands of the Turks, its capture having come about by the hand of the Emir Bīrī⁴ the Turk. The death of 'Alī b. Sulaimān had already taken place, and after this that of his son Muḥammad. So the Turks attacked the three grabs, two of which they took, but one slipped away⁵ and fled.

Then on Friday, the 13th of the same Ṣafar, came the appearance of thirty grabs and two galliots before Burūm. Some of them entered Burūm (roads) to take on water, and all (then) sailed on to the Islands (al-Djuzur),⁶ accompanied by Sa'd⁷ b. 'Isā b. 'Afrār. This was because when Sulṭān Badr took the Mahrah country, Qishn and its provinces, his (Sa'd's) brother had gone to ask them for aid (*mustaṣrikk bi-him*).

The two captured grabs held about twenty Franks who threw themselves into the sea, swimming towards the coast of Khanfar⁸ in an attempt to join their friend, 'Alī b. Sulaimān.⁹

¹ See Note CC, p. 179.

² Son of 'Alī mentioned in the previous year.

³ The text is slightly difficult at this point. It is uncertain whether the envoys were dispatched this year or in 954 H.

⁴ Piri Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Ra'is, Kapudan of Egypt, executed not later than 962 H. (A.D. 1554-5), but more probably in 959 or 960 H.

⁵ Arabic: *infalata*. The Bā Ṣurrah MS. has *inkalaba*.

⁶ i.e. the Ḥuṣn al-Ghurāb group.

⁷ Muḥ. b. Hāshim, *Tārīkh*, p. 48, for Sa'd writes Sa'id but none of the MSS. agrees with this.

⁸ Khanfar is in Abyan, at one time so important that the *K. al-Nisbah ila 'l-Mawāqī'* . . . states that it is the *kā'idat* (capital of) Abyan where the *hākīm* of Abyan resides. I visited it over ten years ago and saw the old fort there, but the area had sadly declined until the Abyan Cotton Scheme commenced.

⁹ Al-Tawlakī.

When, however, the expedition heard the news about 'Alī b. Sulaimān, and of the capture of Aden by the Turks, it turned back to Qishn along with Sa'd b. 'Īsā, on Wednesday, the 24th of Ṣafar. They laid siege to Qishn fort, and a number of them, about forty men of the Franks, were slain. They were killed by bullets close by (*taht*) the fort, without getting anything from it. Then on the Saturday the two large galliots which formed part of their expedition arrived, engaging the fort with their guns on Saturday evening and on the Sunday, the latter being the 29th of Ṣafar. They obtained possession of the fort, entering it by force of arms, and killing the commander (*naḳīb*)¹ along with the musketeers (*rumāh*)² except Sulaimān b. Sa'd b. Sulaimān al-Muḥammadī.³

Year 959 H. (A.D. 1551-2) (141a)

[Brief reference is made to the arrival of two large grabs of Turks under the command of Bīrī,⁴ which remained for two days in the port, presumably al-Shiḥr, and then sailed away. The date given is the 22nd of Rabi' I.]

Year 961 H. (A.D. 1553-4) (143b)

In this year the Franks took Diu⁵ from the Muslims.

Year 968 H. (A.D. 1560-1) (155b)

In this year (in Radjab) there arrived three grabs of Turks which had left from Aden, and passing by al-Shiḥr, Qishn, and Zufār, they reached Ḳalhāt. They captured a galliot out of India with Franks aboard, taking its captain (*kanbuṭān*) prisoner and ten with him.

On Tuesday, the 8th of the month of Rabi' II, they put in to al-Shiḥr and stayed a couple of days in the port before sailing for

¹ *Naḳīb* is used in this sense in 'Awdhalī territory.

² Archers cannot, I think, be intended here.

³ One MS. reads 'al-Ḥamdī', which is possible, as being a Mahrah name. Cf. the account by R. S. Whiteway, op. cit., p. 318, but the reference is to a little fort near al-Shiḥr. Presumably Sulaimān is the old man sent out to arrange the surrender of the fort and carried off to Goa by the Portuguese.

⁴ See Note DD, p. 179.

⁵ The Tarim MS. reads 'Diu', but the Huraiḍah MS. and *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 253, 'al-Dair'. The Portuguese lost it almost immediately. In a note to my transcript from the Mukallā MS. I have written, 'In this year the Turks (*Arwām*) took Aden', without copying the Arabic, which leads me to conclude that the Mukallā MS. has an entry of this event in two places, but this does not, however, figure in the Huraiḍah MS.

Aden. Their commander was Bīrī,¹ admiral of the flotilla (*tadjrīdah*) which entered Hurmūz as has been related previously under the year 59 (A.D. 1551-2)²

In the month of Radjab or Sha'bān, five Frankish grabs and three galliots encountered a large galliot out of Atcheh (Ashī)³ with a number of Atchehnese Muslims and a number of Turkish merchants on board. For three days they fought together until most of the Franks and all the Muslims had perished. The galliots of the Frank and the Muslim galliot were set on fire, and many people were slain. Only about twenty men of the Muslims were saved who entered Aden, while one came in to Aḥwar.

*Year 972 H. (A.D. 1564-5)*⁴ (162b)

In this year the captain (*kanbuṭān*) Ṣafar al-Rūmī arrived from Turkey with ten large grabs and a quantity of equipment and troops. His departure from Suez fell on the 2nd of the month of Ramaḍān of the same year. He put into Mocha where he stayed one day, and Aden where he did the same, though (others) say longer, landing a number of cannon there.

He now sailed for the African coast (*barr al-'Adjam*) in search of the Franks lying off Failak,⁵ on the look-out for the Jeddah trade-fleet (*mūsīm*), coming from the island of Atcheh. They arrived there (only to find that) the Foe of God had already set out for Hurmūz by then; one of their galliots put into Qishn whence it set sail on the 29th of the said month of Ramaḍān.

So, on the 2nd of Shawwāl of the same year, he returned to Burūm. Some sickness now manifesting itself in him, they

¹ This entry is misplaced, cf. p. 109, n. 4, *supra*. It should fall under the year 959 H. (A.D. 1551-2).

² As noted previously, the attack on Hurmūz is *not* recorded under that year.

³ It is surprising how frequently Atcheh appears in Arabic works of this period, as, e.g., in al-Djarmūzī, Mukallā MS., p. 12, which includes a description of the island and its products.

⁴ At the time of writing I have found no evidence to confirm this entry.

⁵ Failak is mentioned in many sources, e.g. *Instructions nautiques*, i, fols. 100a, 108b, 124b, 166b, ii, fols. 20a, b, 63b, Sharmah to Failak i, 63a, 'Rās Failak munḥarif 'an al-Bāb li-'l-djanūb kalil-an, Cape Failak is to the side of [?] al-Bāb, a little to the south', 'Rās Failak wa-huwa barr al-Sawmal wa-ākhir barr al-Ḥabashah, Cape Failak which is in Somaliland and the end of Abyssinian territory'. Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2920, fol. 36b, Bandar Failak. This nautical almanac also mentions Ghubbat Failak and Rās Failak. Purchas, op. cit., i. 340, calls it Mount Feluke. There is also a Failakah island in the Persian Gulf near Kuwait.

returned to Aden where, after lingering a few days, he passed away on the 28th of the same month of Shawwāl.

Year 984 H. (A.D. 1576-7)¹ (186b)

On Monday, the 1st of the month of Radjab, two Turkish grabs arrived before al-Shihr port, their captain Sinān² by name; on



FIG. 1. Ground plan of Diu fort and Island.

board there were 200 Turks and a like number of sailors and Indians, bound for Rās al-Ḥadd to the Franks. When they reached Muscat they looted it, killing some of the Franks there. Then they burned it, and with it the churches of the Frank. In the harbour they took a large galliot laden with goods (*amwāl*) bound for Hurmūz. They also took from it a galleon (*ghaliyūn*)³ they found in the port. The grabs of the Frank and their own grabs—the lot they laded with the goods they had taken from the town, the Indians assisting them and looting (it) with them.

Laden with booty, they returned, arriving from Muscat before al-Shihr on the 23rd of the month of Sha'bān, safe and sound. Thence they sailed to al-Mukallā where they divided their spoils; they stayed (there) a few days (longer) and then sailed for Aden.

¹ This date is incorrect, and should be 989 H. (A.D. 1581-2).

² See Note EE, p. 180.

³ See Note DD, p. 179, on the Turkish term *qalion*.

DUTCH PIRATES OFF MOCHA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

I. *General*

By the mid-seventeenth century the heroic age of Portuguese expansion was a thing of the past. Other European nations had sent their ventures into eastern waters and established their factories or settlements in countries on the seaboard of the Indian Ocean. The story of the recession of Portuguese power and the rise of that of the Dutch, French, and English has already been told many times. In the Yemen the Turks had disappeared and the Zaidī Imāms entered on their territorial expansion which, for a time, was to bring even Ḥaḍramawt under their suzerainty. 'At this time', writes Beckingham, 'the Indian Ocean was swarming with pirates. They were not, normally, protected by the European governments; the trouble was that they were no particular government's responsibility, and that, as al-Djarmūzī's account shows, the Muslim rulers were hopelessly confused about the relations of the different nations of Europe.'

II. *Sources and Manuscripts*

The Arab narrative is drawn from a manuscript in the Sulṭān's library at al-Mukallā. I had the pleasure, saddened by the fact that he was clearly in the last stages of tuberculosis, of meeting its former owner, the late Sulṭān 'Alī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Ḳu'aiṭī, at al-Ḳaṭn in 1948. He had played a prominent part in recent Ḥaḍramī history, had been banished, but had returned to Ḥaḍramawt to die. After his death this and other volumes found their way to al-Mukallā.

My friend Professor Charles Beckingham has ferreted out the European accounts of the incidents at considerable trouble to himself, a service for which I am deeply indebted to him. The quotations, summary, and commentary are entirely his, and all I have done is to attempt to place them in logical sequence with relation to the Arab version of events.

From both the beginning and end of the manuscript (numbered Hist. 316) pages are lacking, but the author seems to be al-Ḥasan b. al-Muṭaḥhar al-Djarmūzī, whose biography is given by

al-Shawkānī, in *al-Badr al-Ṭālī*.¹ As I intend to publish a detailed description of the manuscript elsewhere, let it suffice to give only the pertinent details. Saiyid al-Ḥasan flourished in the latter half of the eleventh century H. (seventeenth century A.D.). At a period later than our pirates he became governor of Mocha, where no doubt he was able to collect eyewitness versions of these incidents.

I believe this chronicle to be *al-Sīrat al-Mutawakkiliyah*, a copy of which, in the Vatican, is described by G. Levi della Vida² as 'mutila in principio e in fine . . . diffusa e piena di particolari, digressioni, documenti'. This description exactly corresponds to the Mukallā MS. Levi della Vida thinks the Vatican copy is a draft, an impression one also derives from the Mukallā copy. Al-Ḥasan's father was known as an historian,³ but *al-Badr al-Ṭālī* refers to al-Ḥasan as a poet only. From this it seems logical to deduce that the history was never properly completed. Colour is lent to my theory that this is *al-Sīrat al-Mutawakkiliyah* by the fact that al-Ḥasan *ittaṣal bi-'l-Mutawakkil* ('frequented al-Mutawakkil').⁴

In any event, this manuscript is one of very special interest for the variety and detail of the information supplied, not only on the Yemen, but on other countries also. In language it is wordy, repetitive, uninspiring, perhaps Civil Service style; perhaps it would have been polished up had its form been finalized. The grammar is generally good, the diction literary rather than colloquial, with not a few Yemenite conventions. It is much more polished than the simple style of our chroniclers of Portuguese activities; it has none of their nautical tang, nor does it have their sea-faring words and expressions.

¹ Edit. Cairo, 1348 H., i. 210.

² *Elenco dei Manoscritti Arabi Islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City, 1935), p. 104, no. 971.

³ Brock., *Gal.* ii. 402, and *Sup.* ii. 551.

⁴ I have since confirmed that the Mukallā Ms. is in fact *al-Sīrat al-Mutawakkiliyah*, and that in general it corresponds with the Vatican Ms. of this work. (1972)

ACCOUNTS BY AL-DJARMŪZĪ AND BY EUROPEAN WRITERS

AL-DJARMŪZĪ'S HISTORY (p. 115)

The Tale of the Franks and (Mischief)¹ They wrought
Certain Yemen Pilgrims in the Sea between Ḥalī b.
Ya'kūb and al-Ḳunfudah, on the 24th of the Month
of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah in the Year 1060 H. (A.D. 1650).

Viz., that certain Franks put to sea in a galliot (*ḳilyāṭah*)² resembling the grab, which (former) is smaller than a vessel (*markab*) but better to handle ((*a*)ḥsan ṣan'ah),³ and runs more freely (*akhaff fi 'l-sair*) than it does; the Franks employ it a very great deal. The said (Franks) were ,⁴ as a Meccan belonging to the Mamelukes of the Bāshā governing Sawākin and the neighbouring part of Abyssinia relates, for they overpowered this galliot, with which they then set about waylaying the sea routes.

Now, when it came to the above date, a company arrived from that place, people of Bilād al-Sharaf⁵ and merchants from Ṣan'ā', among whom were Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Shakardah,⁶ al-'Anbarī, and the Shaikh Ḥusain Ḳal'as⁷ al-Ahnūmī, accompanied by a numerous party.

From every dhow⁸ which passed their way the Franks would revictual themselves (*yastamaddūn*) with sufficient provision to last them a while, as well as with other goods and water.

¹ The verb *ahdath* employed here has something of the sense of 'opening an unprovoked attack'. It is almost a technical term of tribal law, and has a long history in this sense.

² I am inclined to consider this word to be the same as the *qalita* (قاليتة) of the Turks (cf. p. 179 *infra*) which has 14-19 rowers' benches, but it does not follow that the name denotes the same type of vessel.

³ 'Alī Bāshā says that in *al-ḳalām al-ḳadīm* one uses this simple form, but nowadays the elative. I have rendered *ṣan'ah* (*infra*) as 'gear'. From the following *akhaff* I think the elative must be intended, and think that in colloquial Arabic the simple form is sometimes still used instead. The Vatican Ms. has *aḥsan*.

⁴ Lacuna.

⁵ Probably the same as Mikhlaḥ al-Sharaf which al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-'Arab*, edit. D. H. Müller (Leiden, 1884), p. 107, says is another name for Mikhlaḥ Shibām to the west of Ṣan'ā'.

⁶ In Persian *shakardah* means 'quick, active, dextrous'.

⁷ Vocalized on 'Alī Bāshā's authority.

⁸ Arabic: *djalabah*.

The pilgrims of whom we have spoken were passengers on a dhow¹ belonging to a man, Aḥmad Nāmis by name, of the people of Djāzān (Is.), numbering 109 souls, and without a weapon amongst them. The Franks have been estimated at 75 persons, though some say less.

When they perceived those on the dhow they directed the galliot's course toward them, hailing them (with the cry), 'Deliver over to us victuals and water like your fellow (countrymen) have done!' Greed, however, prevailing over them, those with goods being fearful for the same, lest, should they give them leave by yielding them anything, they would take other goods beside, they refused to hand over anything to them. So when the Franks lost hope that they would give them what they asked they fired muskets at them, hitting a number (of persons). Thereupon panic fell among the dhow's company, its gear (*ṣan'ah*)² was spoiled, and through the panic its handling was thrown into confusion.

The Franks manning the galliot now drew alongside them, after they had slain many of its complement by musket fire, no one offering the least defence for lack of weapons. Seizing possession of it they slew everyone they met, while many the man it was who cast himself into the sea. The captain (*rubbān*) responsible for the handling of the dhow, they arrested; he had been wounded (*waka' 'alaihi ṣāyibah*), so they hastened to apply medicaments to him, and he (eventually) recovered.

Aḥmad Nāmis, its owner, relates that, when they boarded the dhow, he saw one of them asking (?)³ what had happened, saying: 'Do you consider this better than the understood business⁴ that, had you given us a quite trifling thing, we should have been satisfied with that?' From the dhow they took all the provisions and money they found on board, then sailed onward.

The Saiyid al-Mukām⁵ 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ b. Hādī al-Nu'mī, the Ḥādjdj Surūr b. 'Abdullāh Shalabī, and those Yemenite pilgrims of their company were in Ḥalī b. Ya'qūb. So

¹ Cf. p. 114, n. 8, *supra*.

² Cf. p. 114, n. 3, *supra*.

³ Conjectural rendering of a word evidently corrupt (تساءوه), perhaps from the root *naba'a* or *sa'ala*. The Vatican Ms. reads يتاوه.

⁴ Arabic مليح مما يفهم which again looks like a simple form where an elative would be expected. Cf. p. 114, n. 3, *supra*.

⁵ I am uncertain about this word. The Imām of the Yemen is referred to as al-Makām al-Sharīf; perhaps something of the sort is meant here.

the Ḥādjī Surūr went to al-Daḥriyah,¹ and ordered that those of the slain cast up by the sea be buried there. He then came to al-Ḳunfudah, to which he found the captain (*nākhūdḥah*), already mentioned, had brought in the dhow, its gear being damaged.

Among the pilgrims was the very learned ḳāḍī Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Djamlūlī² who came with the Ḥādjī Surūr to make a survey of the goods still left (in the dhow), for they had got all mixed together. His report (*tawḳī'*) they forwarded to our Lord the Commander of the Faithful,³ may God succour him. His honourable reply came back, (ordering) the (goods) to be preserved for their owners; the affairs of the heirs to the slain were to be entrusted to the ḳāḍī; whosoever produced evidence (of a claim to) any article should have it. He wrote also to the great Sharīf Zaid b. Muḥsin b. Ḥusain b. Ḥasan to release to its owners anything that came into the ports under his surveillance (*naẓar*). Time was now drawing close for the pilgrims (to depart), so the Ḥādjī Surūr went ahead with the Yemenite pilgrim contingent.

The Franks, God curse them, based themselves (*istaḳarrū*) on an island called Djabal al-Ṣabāyā,⁴ lying between Dhahbān⁵ and Ḥalī, until the 8th of the month of Muḥarram al-Ḥarām in the year 1061 H. (A.D. 1651). Because of them the insecurity became very acute.

At Ḥalī the revered Saiyid Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ b. Hādī al-Nu'mī was awaiting the pilgrim contingent. After completing their performance of the (pilgrimage) rites, the pilgrims returned by way of al-Ḳunfudah, at which place letters reached them from the Saiyid Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ to inform them that the said (Franks)

¹ The Admiralty charts and *Red Sea and Gulf of Aden Pilot* (London, 1955), 10th edit., pp. 300-1, show Abu Dhahra Island lying west of Ḥalī and a complex of islands some miles south-west of it with names which seem to embody the word Dhahra. Perhaps these islands were known collectively as Daḥriyah or Dhahriyah, but my searches for the name in Arabic sources have met with no success.

² 'Alī Bāshā confirms this vocalization as a *nisbah* to an ancestor or country.

³ The Imam al-Mutawakkil . . . Ismā'il b. Ḳāsim (1054 H. (A.D. 1644)-1079 H. (A.D. 1668-9)). Cf. Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. Yaḥyā Zabārah, *Ithāf al-Mustarshidīn bi-Dhikr al-A'immat al-Mudjaddidīn wa-Man kāma bi-l-Yaman al-Maimūn* . . . (Ṣan'ā', 1343 H.), p. 82.

⁴ *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 80b, and ii, fol. 42a, mention this island.

⁵ This place may have any of the three vowels, according to informants. It may be the place mentioned by al-Hamdānī, op. cit., p. 227, line 24. Perhaps it is Dahban of the Admiralty Charts. Cf. A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet* (Wien-Prag, 1922-33), ii. 143-4, with which it is doubtless to be identified.

still remained on that island. The Ḥādjī Surūr and his contingent wished to come to them (i.e. to the Saiyid Muḥammad and others) from al-Ḳunfudah, but, while still in this state (of uncertainty), another letter from Saiyid Muḥammad reached them, confirming that they had left the island and been out to sea, (proceeding) in a westerly direction until they arrived at a port called Bailūl on the Zaila' coasts near Abyssinia where they fixed their base.

On news of them reaching the very learned Saiyid, al-Mudjāhid (Wager of the Holy War)¹ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, son of the Commander of the Faithful, God rest his soul, the governor (*wālī*) of Mocha, he fitted out dhows and dispatched soldiers without the knowledge of the Franks.

God granted them victory over them, for they came on them disembarked from the vessel, gathering firewood. Interposing between them and the ship, they captured them. Certain persons they slew (outright), but kept the remainder as captives. Their heads were cut off in Mocha.

AL-DJARMŪZĪ'S HISTORY (p. 313)

An Account of the Attack by the Band of Hollanders and English² of the Christian Nations, on the Port of Mocha

Viz., in the year (10)70 or (10)71 H. (A.D. 1659–60), an engagement fell about between them and a people known as the Malabarīs (al-Munaibār),³ (spelled with *m* followed by *u*, *y*, *b*, *ā*, *r*). A dispute took place between them on the route from the India seas to the Yemen because of some mutual hostility.

These Malabarīs are Muslims; the Munaibārī muskets are called after them. They are a people of great courage and zeal for Islām, God raise aloft its sign-posts and reinforce its pillars, notwithstanding they have but few scholars among them, and no more of Islām than the merest name of it! Concerning this matter there are many tales.

¹ No doubt he is accorded this title because he fought against these Christian pirates.

² Al-Wulandah wa-'l-Indjariz. It seems nevertheless that the English were not involved in this affair. Beekingham's explanation that Hubert Hugo the pirate often flew English colours appears the most natural cause for the apparent confusion of the Yemenis.

³ See p. 42 and Index no. 2.

It so befell they attacked those infidels, taking from them prisoners and goods, among the former being the captain (*kan-buṭān*) acquainted with navigation and the sea routes. The Christians made a truce with them, conditional on the (payment of) a ransom of 4,000 gold pieces (*ḥarf aḥmar*)¹ for their fellow countryman. On this basis they came to terms, but when the Malabaris had secured the money they turned on the captain, cut him in pieces, and flung him at them, so breaking their covenant with them.

The Christians subsequently got into their clutches some Malabari people whom they put to death, and one of whom they burned with fire. The following year they took the company of a Malabar vessel, most of whom they seized, those left landing at a place called Dhubāb² (with a *dh*), for they had become castaways³ without anything, there being women and children among them, and they were near perishing both on sea and land, of hunger and thirst.

Now when the Lord of Mocha, the very perfect Saiyid Raḍī al-Dīn Zaid b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Djuḥāfī,⁴ heard news of this he dispatched soldiers with camels to their aid who brought them into Mocha by the coast road. There were Malabar merchants in Mocha who had not been involved in this affray, and they complained to the Saiyid, may God prolong his life, saying: 'If you grant permission to these Hollanders and English in Mocha to put to sea they will sweep the seas of all Muslims who pass in their vicinity.' Now these infidels had depots (*mawāḍi' mu'tādah*) in which it was their custom to deposit their pieces of merchandise, consisting mostly of cloth (*djūkh*)⁵ and such manner of goods. So, God prolong his life, the Saiyid issued an order that a restraint

¹ The term 'harf aḥmar' is still used in the Yemen, and could be cited from a number of Arabic texts. Cf. Ettore Rossi, *L'Arabo parlato a Ṣan'ā'* (Roma, 1939), p. 151, and *infra*, p. 145.

² Dhubāb near Mocha is so pointed on the authority of 'Alī Bāshā. Cf. Nello Lambardi, 'Divisioni amministrative del Yemen', *Oriente Moderno* (Roma, 1947), xxvii. 153.

³ Arabic *وقد صاروا لقًا لا حالة لهم* which I have rendered somewhat conjecturally.

⁴ Text: al-Habāfī, which I have corrected on the authority of 'Alī Bāshā. Henri de Monfreid, *Sea Adventures* (London, 1946), p. 27, found an Amīr al-Bahr at Midī in this present century.

⁵ This seems to have been a general term for cloth. It is of course known that the English were eager to sell their broadcloth in eastern markets.

(*rasam*)¹ be imposed on their depots and that none of their merchandise should be sold, nor any Muslim associate with them until the Malabarīs and other Muslims had departed about their business.

Then the Saiyid, God prolong his life, in fear that these Hollanders would take to sea, as indeed they did—as will appear later, if God will—posted guards over them so that they should have no access to their largest vessel, called the galliot (*al-barshah*),² to do the Malabarīs and others mischief.

This bore hard upon them, for they found the restriction on trading coupled with the withholding of permission to put to sea (particularly) aggravating. So they sought his permission to send delegates to the Imām³ to complain of the impasse in which they found themselves. He then allowed them to dispatch five persons who went up to Ṣanʿāʾ, the Preserved of God. (At that time) our Lord ʿIzz al-Islām, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, may God succour him, was there, so they laid their complaint before him, and he promised to meet their requirements, the Imām being in Shahārah, the Preserved of God.⁴

On their behalf he wrote to the Saiyid Raḍī al-Dīn, God succour him, to release them, (instructing him) that they should depart (freely) in accordance with their custom. On the return journey from Ṣanʿāʾ they tarried (*abtaw*) somewhat on the way and a rumour spread among their comrades that they had been murdered or turned Muslim,⁵ for of their company there was a man who had embraced Islām at the hands of the Indian Queen previously mentioned.⁶

The shaikh ʿUmar b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dhāhibī, one of Saiyid Zaid's soldiers, says he was one of the guards posted to the said depots, (and) that of the Hollanders there were ten persons whom the guards would not allow to go out, but as regards about thirty-four (other) persons these used to go out (freely) to the market to obtain food. After they had been expecting their comrades at the Imām's court, because of the complaint, (so) long that they despaired of

¹ For a discussion of this term see Note X, p. 177, *infra*.

² See p. 134.

³ Al-Mutawakkil.

⁴ This was still the northern residence of the late Imām Yahyā. Cf. H. Scott, *In the High Yemen* (London, 1942), pp. 170-1.

⁵ Arabic *اسلموا*, but I translate as *aslamū*. Otherwise it would mean 'surrendered'.

⁶ The Dowager Queen of Bijapur. See *infra*, p. 120.

them, they cast themselves into the sea while people were engaged with the evening prayer, for they are expert swimmers, unlike others in this respect,¹ (and swam out) until they reached their galliot (lying) off the coast. Upon it a restraint² had also been imposed, and the Saiyid had issued orders to seize the sail (*shirā'*) which is essential (*'alaihi 'l-madār*) in sailing, and the rudder used in steering and mooring (*al-ikāmah wa-'l-irsā'*) the vessel.³ Some vessels belonging to the Indians and to the Saiyid were there too.

After they had made ready (*tamakkanū*) the galliot they boarded the Muslim vessels (from which) they took a sail and rudder for their galliot, as well as provision and a quantity of water. In (the space of) one day and night they put their galliot to rights, and headed it out to sea.

The Saiyid, God succour him, ordered soldiers to protect those in the ships, so they kept guard over what was left (there). On receiving confirmation about what they had done, he commanded soldiers to follow and give them battle. The wind, however, veered round against them as it veered round against others—and (people began to) speak of them but rarely.

EUROPEAN ACCOUNT FROM THE BATAVIA DAGH-REGISTER⁴

The Dowager Queen of Bijapur,⁵ 'Berra Saybeni' (Baḥrī Šāḥibah),⁶ who had been acting as Regent of the kingdom, sailed from Vengurla to the Red Sea on pilgrimage in the Dutch yacht (*jacht*) *Bantam*. Two men on board had become Muslims, Claes Jacobszoon of Amsterdam, *onderstierman* (i.e. under-helmsman), and 'Jems Leeke van Nieu Castel'. We know⁷ that the latter was an Englishman; his name is presumably James Lake (?) of Newcastle.

¹ Arabic *ولا هم صنعة في السباحة*.

² See Note X, p. 177.

³ Baldaeus, 'Description of . . . East India Coasts', in *Churchill's Voyages* (London, 1704-32), iii. 576, is enlightening on this custom at Mocha 'No sooner are the Moorish Ships come into the Roads after they have dropt their Anchor, but they must carry their Rudder and Sails ashore and unload the whole cargo of the Ship (whether they sell it or not) of which they are obliged to pay the full customs.' This must have been long-established custom, as it is also mentioned at Aden about A.D. 1503, cf. J. W. Jones and G. P. Badger, *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, Hakluyt Society (London, 1863), p. 60.

⁴ *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia . . . Anno 1661*, ed. J. A. van der Chijs (1889), pp. 439-41, except where otherwise specified.

⁵ Cf. p. 119, *supra*.

⁶ *Dagh-Register*, p. 193

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 409.

The *Bantam* reached Mocha on 26 March A.D. 1661. The Queen landed at once, and the two converts deserted. The master (*schipper*) demanded their return from the governor of Mocha; he was told to apply to the Queen; the Queen said it was nothing to do with her. The wind was favourable and they wanted to leave, being prepared to abandon the two deserters, but they were kept waiting for a letter they were to take from the Queen to the Governor-General in Batavia. The Queen's factotum wanted to know why they were in such a hurry to leave, and they realized the Muslims were afraid they would attack Muslim shipping in the Strait of Bāb al-Mandab in revenge for the retention of the deserters.

The master, the *boekhouder* (i.e. book-keeper, writer), and the *opperstierman* (i.e. *opperstuurman* in modern Dutch, upper helmsman) were seized on shore and imprisoned. They were required to hand over the ship's sails, rudder, and gun-powder. The Arabs did not know about a spare set of sails and spare powder they had hidden. The prisoners were then released, but the ship was not allowed to sail until all the Muslim shipping at Mocha was ready to go. Realizing that this might hold them back there till the end of July, the master and the *boekhouder* decided to make the twelve-day journey to see the Imām.

On 25 May they reached 'Seyman' (evidently Ṣan'ā') and saw the 'Yman Mahomet'. The latter had to write to 'Yman Ismael' (Ismā'il) in another town and the Dutch had to wait eighteen days for the reply. This was to the effect that the governor of Mocha 'Seyseet' (Saiyid Zaid) had exceeded his powers, that they were free to leave at once, and that the two deserters were to be handed over, provided they had not already been circumcised.

Meanwhile the Queen was ready to leave. Her factotum Ibrāhīm sent for the *opperstierman*, gave him a letter from her to the Governor-General, and told him that the master had become a Muslim. The *opperstierman* then rejoined the ship, they stole a rudder from a Muslim ship, and departed. The master and *boekhouder* arrived back in Mocha on 24 June, learned what had happened from the head of the English factory, and were told by the governor that the deserters had left with the Queen. They returned to India in a ship belonging to the Khān Khānān,¹

¹ i.e. Muḥammad Sa'īd, usually known as Mīr Djumlah, at one time *wazīr* to Ḳuṭb Shāh of Golconda. He entered into treacherous dealings with the Moguls and became one of Aurungzīb's most famous generals. According to the English

taking a letter from Saiyid Zaid to the Governor-General at Batavia. A translation of this letter dated Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah 1071 H. (July A.D. 1661) is printed in the *Dagh-Register*.¹

AL-DJARMŪZĪ'S HISTORY (p. 315)

Now, when Sha'bān 1st of the year (10)72 H. (August A.D. 1661–August A.D. 1662) came round, they returned from their country in a single galliot which they had fitted out with engines of war, comprising guns, &c.

One of them said they (can) mount up to sixty guns in this (type of) war galliot, in each half of which they place thirty guns dispersed over the sides² of the galliot. When the guns of the first half have been discharged they swing (*harraf*) the galliot over so as to fire the other half, for they have the ability of manœuvring it for the purpose of fighting, just as a horseman can wheel his horse on dry land.

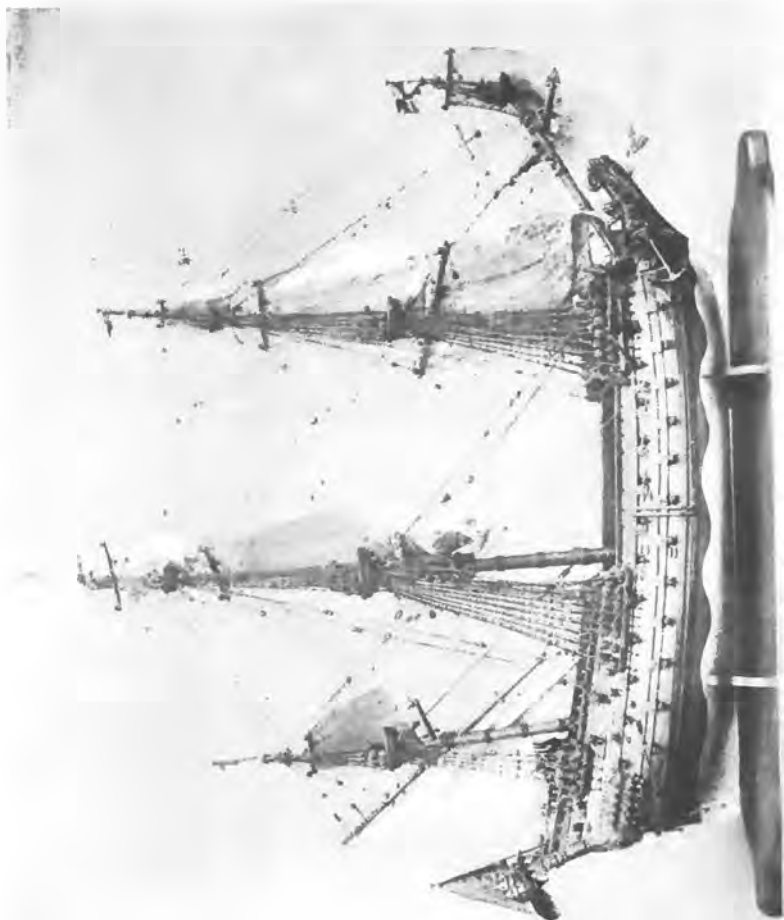
On board ship, he continued, they made powder-pots (*birām min al-madar*)³ ready, filling them with gun-powder sealed up inside (*bārūt makhtūm 'alaihi*); and when anyone closes in, whom therefore on account of the close quarters the guns cannot touch, they set fuses (*fatīlah*) in the mouth of the powder-pots (*buram*), and throw them; these they throw in such manner that the people on board the (opposing) vessel, ship (*safīnah*), or sambook, perish. In the waist (*bāṭin*) of (such) a galliot as this they may place another resembling it, (provided) with all fittings (*ālah kāmīlah*).⁴ If the outer (galliot) founders under them then they take hold of this other in its waist, for they have some skill in loosing its ropes speedily. Sometimes they make ready inflated water-skins to the number of the galliot's crew, along with which they place some provision; if something come upon them which they have no power

factors on the coast his son Maḥmūd Khān had been given Khārepātan. Cf. Sir William Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1661–64* (London, 1923), p. 242.

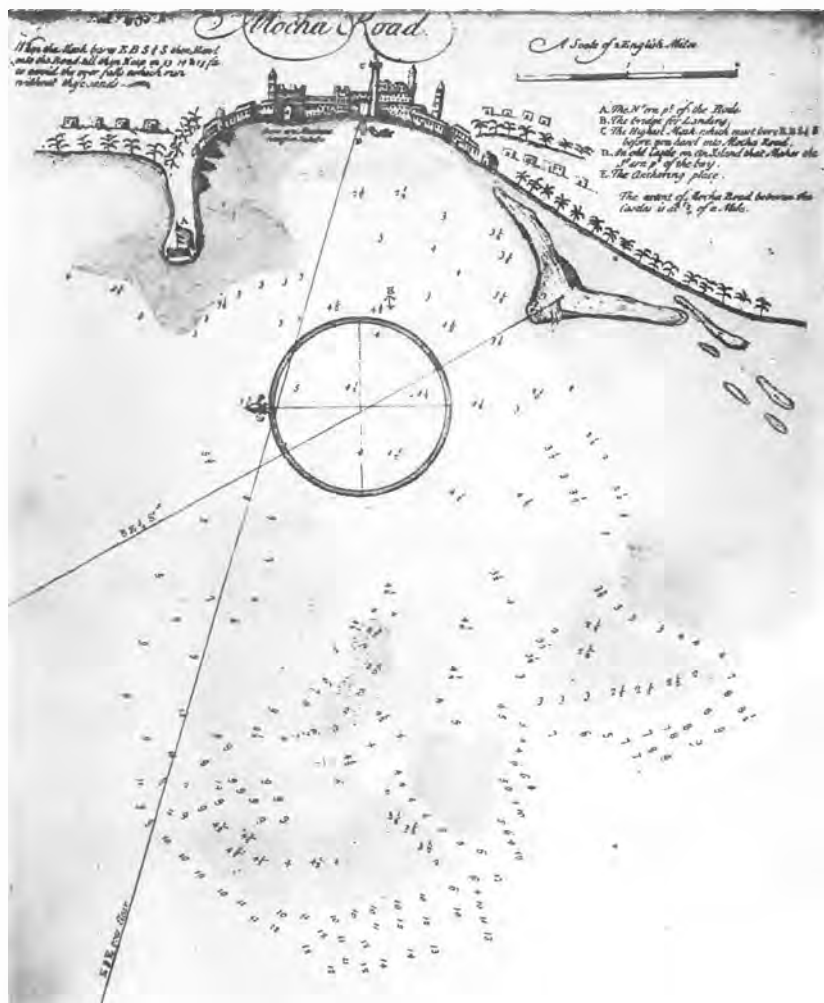
² Arabic حبات. I am indebted to Mr. R. Hoy of the Library of the School of Oriental Studies for a reference to G. L. Overton, *Water Transport. I, Sailing Ships*, Catalogue of the Collections of the Science Museum, South Kensington (London, 1923), p. 25, pl. IV, no. 1, where a Dutch War Vessel of 1650–75 is illustrated, which would have about thirty guns per side.

³ The said powder-pots or grenades have been discussed *supra*, p. 71, n. 6. *Burmah* has two plurals, *buram* and *birām*. *Madar* means pot-clay, a potter being *maddār*.

⁴ Naval equipment or arms?



Model of Dutch man-of-war *circa* 1650, resembling the vessel described on p. 122



Mocha Road. The anchorage, scene of the Dutch exploits, lies between the castles on the two spits which form the horns of the bay

(From H. Cornwall, *Observations on Voyages to India*, 1720)

(to resist) each man binds his water-skin to himself, and, placing his food and water on his head, casts himself into the sea.

So. Now this year, when they returned from their country,¹ they seized some Indians, saying: 'Whosoever is bound for any (port) but Mocha is safe (*āmin*)'; but they took anyone bound for Mocha. They appeared in front of the Mocha people,² and those aboard the ships made a truce with them in consideration of (a ransom) of 18,000 *ķirsh*.³ These vessels consisted of the ship known as Batticalā (Bā Daķlah),⁴ a ship of Karāfattān,⁵ and the Queen's ship called *al-Haidarī*.⁶

Now the Saiyid Rađī al-Dīn, Zaid b. 'Alī was at the Imām's court (al-Maķām al-Imāmī) at al-Sūdah⁷ when the news reached our Lord 'Izz al-Islām, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, God succour him, he being in the town of Ibb for reasons to be recounted in due course, if God will. So the Imām ordered the Saiyid Zaid post-haste to Mocha to investigate any reports of the infidels, may God degrade them! It was the 13th of Ramađān the Great when he set off, arriving at Mocha at the end of the Holy Month, to find that alarms and disquieting rumours had come to their ears, but that the Saiyid Ḥusain b. 'Abdullāh, Saiyid Zaid's lieutenant, had dealt with some of their affairs, for he had already dispatched a party of Muslims to enter a *pourparler* with them and ascertain the extent of their demands. On the arrival of the Saiyid Zaid they

¹ There is no evidence that the pirates described in this passage have anything to do with the pirates mentioned in the first passage from al-Djarmūzī, pp. 117 ff.

² Its inhabitants or those in the shipping at Mocha?

³ The earliest Arabic reference to the term 'ķirsh' in the south of the Red Sea so far known to me is B. Dja'mān, *Fatāwā*, my MS. fol. 43b. He died in 1034 H. (A.D. 1624-5) and does not mention the ķirsh as a novelty. Dr. J. Walker says: 'The ķirsh in question is most likely to have been the Spanish dollar or "piece of eight"'. My colleague Dr. Kent has a few of these from a late-seventeenth-century hoard from Aden. Another possibility is the Lion Dollar (Arslān ķirsh) of Holland which was very popular in the Levant and Near East at the time, and you actually get Ottoman piastres overstruck on them.' Cf. F. W. Hasluck, 'The Levantine Coinage', *Numismatic Chronicle* (London, 1921), v. i. 45 ff.

⁴ This might also in Hađramī colloquial Arabic mean a ship with a single mast, but this is not likely here.

⁵ A small port in India now called Vijayadurg or Viziadrūg. Cf. Sir W. Foster in his *Calendar*, p. 226, n. 1. It is the port of Khārepātan. 'A Draught of Gyria or Vizendruke' can be inspected in II. Cornwall, *Observations upon Several Voyages to India Out and Home* (London, 1720).

⁶ This name appears in the MS. without diacritics or vowels.

⁷ Al-Sūdah is in the north, between Khamir and Shahārah. Cf. Ibn al-'Aidarūs, *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, op. cit., p. 191, and J. Werdecker's map in *Bull. Soc. Roy. Géog. d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1939), xx.

turned more insistent in their demands,¹ but he refused to concede any truce to them,² for the Imām had given him orders to this effect, so that Islām should have its honour and reverence preserved, and may God ever increase its honour and reverence!

When they gave up all hope of (obtaining) the money, they seized upon the Saiyid Zaid's envoys³ and cast them into irons. Turning to such Muslim shipping as was found off the coast, they sank and burned it, looting all they were able. Whereupon the said Saiyid summoned those Muslims with him to the Holy War, granting them a generous rate of pay. Of these, seventy men were mariners (*baḥḥārah*), i.e. men whose profession was the sea, along with tribesmen (*ḥawm*) of the Ma'āzibah,⁴ and soldiers to the number of fifty-five. He embarked them on a capacious vessel and sambooks, about 175 men being on board; the vessel he laded with full complement of guns, muskets, powder and shot, beside much provision and water.

The Franks, on perceiving them, made show of faint-heartedness, running before them until they reached the opposite mountain⁵ called Bāb al-Mandab. In one of its flanks they lay in ambush. Supposing the (Franks) to be still ahead of them, the Muslim raiders (*ghārah*) passed them by. Then, glancing back, there were the infidels in their rear, for they had kept course close in shore in order to cut off the Muslims from the land!

A certain Muslim who took part in this engagement said that they fired about fifty shots (*midfa'*) at the Muslims, but God preserved the Muslims from any damage through them. The Muslims then fired their gun (*midfa'*)⁶ which carried away a side of their

¹ Arabic: *tashaddadū fī amri-him*.

² Arabic لا يسلم لهم شيء من الصلح. The word *ṣulḥ* (truce) seems slightly euphemistic for an agreement by which the Yemenis were to buy off the pirates.

³ Anthony Smith, *infra*, p. 128, mentions two persons carried off by the pirates who had been sent by Saiyid Zaid; these were Surūr Mas'ūd (?) and Pīr Khān (?), the latter evidently an Indian or Persian.

⁴ Text: Ma'āribah, but it must be read as above, for the Ma'āzibah are a well-known South Yemenite Bedouin tribe mentioned frequently by al-Khazradjī and other authors.

⁵ Arabic الجبل المعترض المسمى باب المنداب. I am dubious of the translation and text. From the air I do not recollect seeing any mountain on the Arabian side.

⁶ It seems to me that *midfa'* is used in two senses here: that of 'round, cannon-ball, volley', and in the usual meaning of 'gun'. Cf. *supra*, p. 80, n. 5. Perhaps it should be translated here as 'volley'.

galliot, but, God curse them, they hastily stopped up the breach. Then the Muslims again fired this gun, but, said one of them, the Muslim cannon-ball did not come in contact with the powder at the lower end of the gun(-barrel) on account of the size of the stone,¹ so because of this it burst into pieces, but God knows!

In their faint-heartedness the sailors² took to flight, but the soldiers with a few others stayed (to fight it out). A man of the Ahnūm got hold of a small *zebratana* which he fired at the heathens (*al-mushrikūn*) and smashed part of the mast. So the heathens turned tail till all who saw them thought they had taken to flight, but after withdrawing some distance away, the heathen repaired the damage done them and reloaded their guns. With all guns (blazing) they now attacked the Muslims, and such of the latter as could find any way of escape, fled, and reached the shore after the loss of those who perished at sea.

On gaining possession of the Muslim vessel the Christians removed from it all they could take and burned the rest. As for the large vessel, a galliot, and two vessels belonging to the Indians, these they burned along also with four sambooks; then they put back to sea.

As soon as news of them reached the Saiyid Zaid, he made an expedition along the coast road and came up with the Muslim survivors nearly perished of hunger and thirst. These he rescued and bore to Mocha, then, collecting the soldiers still remaining with him, he advanced to Bāb al-Mandab where he mounted (armed) posts against them for over twenty days. So they took themselves off—no one knows why and where!

A certain merchant (trading) to Mocha port states that he found the Sultān's minister (*wazīr*), Ḥakīm by name, at Mocha, arrived from India in the Queen's³ ship. On reaching Bāb al-Mandab, he was in some trepidation on account of these infidels so he ran the ship close inshore, but it was wrecked (*inkasar*). Coming up with it the infidels seized all they could (remove) from it, including:

65,000 gold pieces (*aḥmar*),⁴

¹ Stone cannon-balls were in use from Mameluke times. Cf. *supra*, p. 50, n. 3.

² The soldiers would of course be arms-bearing tribesmen, whereas the seamen, not a fighting class, may well have considered the engagement was not their business.

³ For this lady, the Dowager Queen of Bijapur, the text uses the titles *Malikah* and *Sultānah*, but I have rendered them without distinction as 'Queen'.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 118, n. 1.

150 bales (*ribṭah*) of muslin (*shāsh*),
 Carpets (*mafārish*),
 70,000 *kirsh*,¹
 15 *buhārs*² of rose-water aloes (*al-ʿūd al-māwardī*),
 2 beds (*sarīr*),³ one of gold, the other of silver.

The rest of the (contents of this) vessel, about 500 (camel?)-loads, were transported to Mocha.

The individual quoted stated that the vessels which the infidels burned while the people of Mocha looked on (helpless to do anything), as has already been related, (consisted of) two ships; from a third belonging to the Queen they carried off all its contents.

When the Saiyid made his expedition to Bāb al-Mandab, following on the engagement, having laded a ship with equipment, clothing, and provision, they made a swoop on it and took it also. He had written to our Lord⁴ the Imām, and to our Lord Muḥammad b. al-Hasan,⁵ God succour them, demanding reinforcements, for the tale of this engagement had become widely spread abroad accompanied by a multitude of rumours. (At the time) the Imām was in ʿAmrān al-Bawn⁶ as will be related, if God will.

EUROPEAN ACCOUNTS OF THE ABOVE INCIDENTS

There are several accounts of the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden expedition of the pirate whose depredations have been narrated by al-Djarmūzī. The villain or hero of these exploits was a certain Hubert Hugo (Thévenot⁷ calls him Lambert Hugo) and his ship

¹ See p. 123, n. 3.

² The *buhār* is usually a weight of about 300 lb. today, but the various weights of the *buhār* (*bahār*) for different commodities in various places can be seen in G. Ferrand, 'Les Poids, mesures et monnaies des mers du Sud', *Journal Asiatique* (Paris, 1920), xi. xv. 1-150 and 193-311 numbered also 1-269, especially p. 60 where Aden rose-water is mentioned. The term here is curious—perhaps 'ūd in the context simply means 'scent'.

³ The *sarīr* was probably a kind of *angareb* upon which one sits.

⁴ al-Mutawakkil.

⁵ Muh. b. al-Hasan, *flor.* 1010 H. (A.D. 1601)–1079 H. (A.D. 1668–9). Cf. Zabārah, loc. cit.

⁶ Cf. J. Werdecker, 'A Contribution to the Geography and Cartography of North-West Yemen', *Bull. Soc. Roy. Géogr. d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1939), xx, where it may be seen on the map.

⁷ *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant* (London, 1687), iii. 21. 'Lambert' seems to be a translator's error.

according to the *Dagh-Register* was called the *Black Eagle*, 36 guns and 100 men.¹ Thévenot says that he was generally believed in Surat to be a Frenchman, which belief had done much harm to French interests, and mentions that he carried a commission from the Duc de Vendôme, Admiral of France; the *Dagh-Register* confirms the existence of the commission.

The four reports or narratives quoted *infra* in summary each lay stress on different phases of Hugo's piratical activities. They have been arranged so that, though overlapping, they are in approximate chronological correspondence with that part of al-Djarmūzī's narrative upon which each account concentrates.

*John Dutton's Account of Hugo*²

Dutton states that Hugo left Amsterdam on 25 July 1661; he reached Madagascar on 8 January, ' & set sayle from thence the 29th for the Red Sea, arrived there the 2d of May; then we tooke the first Shipp comeing from the Maldives with Cowrees; the second a Sayk also from the Maldives with Cowrees; and the 3d from Vingecla³ with clothes and other goods, haveing three passes, one from the Hollander, one from the English, the other from the Portugall: yet was taken, for when the Chiefe & the Captaine did see the English passe, they said this is from our masters, and so carried him away. then wee came again to a sayk laden with clothes and Cardemons; the 19th wee were in Fight with the Admirall of Mocha, whom we tooke and the 19th sunck her, the 28th we tooke a Malabar with 7000 Bales of Rys, and after this tooke severall barkes with Camells & Asses & Sheep; the 2d June sayled from Mocha towards an Island in the mouth of the Red Sea. & there found a Shipp of Vingecla which was run aground there; which wee Boarded, and tooke out of her great riches, amounting to about 5 or 6 Tuns of Gold, In Jewels & other rich Comodities. The 6th wee went thence . . . '

¹ *Dagh-Register*, 1663 vol., p. 268.

² This account of Hugo's cruise is in MS. in the Public Record Office. It is mentioned in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1663-4*, p. 148, and consists of a translation of an account procured at St. Helena, by John Dutton, Governor-Designate of Pulo Run, from Hugo's 'upper steersman' (i.e. *opper-stuurman*), whom he calls Garrat (i.e. Gerard) Abassalem, when Hugo's ships called at St. Helena on his return voyage to Europe. Dutton's covering note is dated 22 May 1663. It has not previously been published.

³ Vengurla on the west coast of India, a little north of Goa.

English Records at the India Office,¹ 1661-4

The English factor at Mocha was Anthony Smith; the East India Company suspected him of being mixed up in Hugo's affairs, though, it would seem from what follows, wrongly. Rumours reached the English in Surat that the Mocha warehouses had been sealed by the governor on the suspicion that a pirate who had troubled the Red Sea the year before had been English.

Apparently in April 1663 the Company in Surat received a letter from Smith, dated 23 February 1663, stating that 'when Signor Hubert Hugo with his French man of warr lay at the Babbs' (Bāb al-Mandab), he, Smith, 'in the absence of Sihud Zead' (Saiyid Zaid), had escaped and had gone 'up into the countrey to the Emam'. The latter had heard him willingly, but he had done nothing until he learned that Hugo had 'made havocke in Mocha bunder and had twice beaten his Governor and burnt three jounks in the road, slaine his souldiers and tooke six of his great boates with 14 peices of artillery; which boates in derision he brought before the Governor and burnt them all on a row, and then went away with divers rich prizes that he had taken, and carried with him as prisoner Suroor Mushud (Surūr Mas'ūd?),² Peer Ckawne (Pīr Khān?), and divers others that were sent on board perforce by Sihud Zead to make peace'.

Thévenot's Account of Hugo³

Thévenot's story is that Hugo came upon a ship carrying the baggage of the Queen of Bijapur near Socotra. He forced the ship to run aground, then waited in the offing for thirst to compel the sailors of the Indian ship to surrender. The latter sank the Queen's valuables, which included rich presents intended for Mecca and Medina, in the sea, but were then obliged by lack of water to give themselves up to Hugo. Their secret was betrayed to him and he tortured the master and carpenter and the latter's son and forced them to tell him where the treasure had been hidden.

¹ These are calendared by Sir William Foster, *The English Factories in India*, pp. 189-91.

² Probably the Surūr mentioned by al-Djarmūzī, p. 115 *supra*. His name would seem to indicate that he was of slave origin.

³ Thévenot, loc. cit.

*Manucci's Account of Hugo*¹

Manucci says that it was the loss of a ship from the Maldives loaded with cowries that induced the Mogul Aurungzib to build a fleet. The ship in question was taken by pirates after some fighting.

'The captain and the merchants on the ship said to the pirates that the kauris would never be of any use to them; thus they should be satisfied to accompany them as far as Mecca (*sc.* Mocha),² in which port [*sic*] they would pay them forty thousand patacas. The proposal was accepted, and the pirates went to Mecca (Mocha). At a distance from the harbour they awaited the fulfilment of the agreed bargain. But the Mahomedans, instead of satisfying the pirates, laid hold of the opportunity of two royal (i.e. Mogul) vessels being there. These ships had brought faqirs and the ladies and lords of Hindustan to Mecca. They so arranged that with the assistance of other merchant ships they all sailed out to capture the Frank pirate. But it turned out very differently from what they expected. For, going out to hunt, they were themselves hunted. The pirates, seeing some ten or twelve vessels coming against them, pretended to take to flight, in the hope of drawing these inexperienced men out to the open sea.

'The Mahomedans did all they could to catch the pirate ship, under the belief that she could not escape, when, much to their surprise, the pirate, with great determination and courage, veered round, and, getting amongst the attacking vessels, most dexterously discharged its guns and threw them into disorder. Thus, some dispersed one way and some another. The pirates captured one ship, and after stripping it, set it on fire, consuming both the vessel and all those that were in it. Nor were they satisfied with this vengeance.'

Manucci goes on to say that 'the pirates sailed to the latitude of Diu and there waited for the royal (Mogul) ships on their return voyage from the Red Sea to Surat, one of which they captured, plundering the cargo and raping the ladies on board'.

¹ *Storia do Mogor*, Indian Texts Series, trans. by William Irvine (London, 1907), ii. 45-46. The original text of Manucci has not been published. Irvine worked from several MSS., and the bibliographical history of his work is very complicated.

² Manucci's Mecca is obviously Mocha, a common mistake, but not every reference to Mecca as a port can be assumed to mean Mocha; it sometimes means Jeddah. On Speed's maps of Arabia Mocha is written Mecca.

APPENDIX I

A TURKISH GUN FROM ADEN

AN interesting relic connected with the Turkish expedition to India in the year 937 H. (A.D. 1530-1) is the Turkish gun preserved to this day in the Tower of London. The late Professor L. A. Mayer has generously provided me with a transcript of the Arabic inscription on the gun, and Mr. A. N. Kinnard with the description and the photograph. Professor Mayer intended publishing the text, for which I propose the rendering:

1. There ordered the manufacture of this *mukḥulah* in the way of God the exalted, the Sultān of the Arabs and the non-Arabs
2. Sultān Sulaimān b. Salīm Khān, glorious be his victory, to vanquish the foes of the State and the Faith, the infidels
3. Entering into the land of India, Portugal (Burtuḳāl) the accursed, in Cairo the preserved, year 937 H. (A.D. 1530-1).

(*In a separate cartouche*)

The work of Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah

The inscription contains an error unlikely to be made by an Arab speaker, *al-Sultān al-‘Arab*; the name Portugal for the Portuguese also seems a little awkward. By the ‘way of God’ of course the Holy War against the Christians is intended.

Mr. Kinnard’s description runs:

No. XIX-94. Bronze gun. (The alloy is rather reddish in colour and must have a high copper content.) Length 17 feet 3 inches. Bore 8.75 inches. Taken at Aden in 1839 by the expedition commanded by Captain Smith, R.N., the actual capture apparently being by the crew of H.M.S. *Volage*. The gun is unusual in having externally a plain taper from breech to muzzle without any of the usual mouldings to relieve it, the breech being finished flat. One might surmise that it was cast in a great hurry, were it not for the inscriptions. It has never been weighed but it would seem to be over 7 tons.

The word *mukḥulah* has been discussed at some length by Ayalon, and we are fortunate to be able to produce a known example, albeit a relatively late example, of this type of gun. There is furthermore a discussion of a more etymological nature in Landberg’s *Daḥīnah*.¹ Mr. Kinnard’s remarks on the high copper content of the gun are relevant in that Ibn ʿIyās in various places mentions *makāhil nahāsīyah*, copper *mukḥulahs*. Lane² in *Modern Egyptians* gives an illustration of a *kohl*-pot which is not dissimilar in its shape from the Turkish and Indian miniatures in which guns are shown belonging to this period. The

¹ (Leiden, 1905-9), pp. 437 ff.

² Edit. (London, 1895), p. 53.



a. Bronze Turkish gun from Aden, now in the Tower of London. The inscription appears on top of the muzzle



b. A *barshah* or *barca* (*bārchah*) from the map of the Turkish admiral, Piri Ra'is (cf. p. 134)



a. Portuguese guns *in situ* at al-Hazm, west of Muscat town, near al-Rustāk



b. Portuguese coats of arms on the gun
supra at al-Hazm

Ḥaḍramī Bedouin to this day carry brass *kohl*-pots very similar in form to a brass or bronze gun, and even the needle for applying the *kohl* attached to them would resemble a ramrod.

A further point of interest is that if the gun was cast in 937 H. which commences in August, it may in truth have been manufactured in a hurry and dispatched from Egypt to catch the Turkish fleet. It could well have been sent to replace the big guns lost in the ship off Mocha in 936 H. (A.D. 1529-30) (p. 55). This gun may also indeed have gone to India, for on the return voyage thence, Sulaimān Bāshā 'caused 100 Pieces of Cannon great and small to be landed out of the Fleet'¹ according to the Venetian officer, to form part of its defences.

¹ Thomas Astley, *A New General Collection of Voyages . . .* (London, 1745-7), i. 96.

APPENDIX II

ARABIC TERMS FOR SHIPPING¹

OUR South Arabian chroniclers distinguish a number of types of vessel and small craft. Certain local terms they apply also to the Portuguese shipping which they encountered along their coasts, though at least some of the European vessels must have been quite strange to them. How, precisely, the Arabic terms were used is really a question that only further researches can resolve. A comparison of the shipping lists which figure in the Arabian authors with those in the Portuguese versions of the same incidents and events might establish exactly what they intend; but this is an involved study and demands a greater degree of technical knowledge than I possess. R. Morton Nance is of the opinion that the city views of Braun and Hogenberg² have good and probably authentic portraits of shipping; and we have seen³ what the Turks meant by a *bārchah*.

A second approach towards identifications is through the discovery of just exactly what the terms still in use off the Arabian coast today signify. One could not greatly err in assuming that the country craft of the twentieth century have changed not at all from those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The conservatism of local craftsmen in Arabia, when working in traditional materials, is very rigid indeed, and of course, even now, local needs remain unchanged. In somewhat sketchy fashion I have attempted such identifications by consulting the relatively few articles and books on the subject published by experts on matters nautical. A convenient list of most of these is to be found in the bibliography published by Richard LeBaron Bowen.⁴

Hans Kindermann's excellent little work⁵ has been my source for the actual rendering of Arabic terms into English; I have selected the sense that appeared most appropriate to my context, though occasionally none of the interpretations he supplies seems quite applicable to the circumstances of our narrative; in such cases they are merely used *faute de mieux*. From additional sources which I quote, it has sometimes been

¹ For some general information on nautical terms cf. G. Ferrand, 'L'Élément persan dans les textes nautiques arabes des xv^e et xvi^e siècles', *Journ. As.* (Paris, 1924), cciv. 193. H. and R. Kahane and A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca of the Levant* (Urbana, 1958), though useful, is of little application for South Arabia.

² R. Morton Nance, 'Terradas and Talismans', *Mariner's Mirror* (London, 1914), iv; G. Braun and F. Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Coloniae, 1577-88).

³ P. 44.

⁴ *Arab Dhows of Eastern Arabia* (Rehoboth, Mass., 1949).

⁵ 'Schiff' im Arabischen (Zwickau i. Sa., 1934).

possible to supplement Kindermann's data. The Arabic names of my authors have, however, been translated *consistently* throughout, so that, for example, 'galliot' represents the Arabic *barshah*, unless a different Arabic word in brackets follows the English.

My field-books contain a list of technical terms for the various parts of a dhow collected while sailing to Aden from al-Mukallā on Messrs. Besse's motor-dhow *al-Wāfī*. Quite a few of these can be actually identified with their English equivalents from the diagram and list published by Alan Moore,¹ though his romanized version of the names presents them in a rather distorted form. The publication of these I must, however, leave until a later occasion.

It is well known that the dhows of East Africa are of Arabian inspiration. Not only is this at once recognizable to the eye of the landlubber, but many of the names for parts of the African vessels are Arabic, as can be perceived through even the limited data supplied by B. Krumm,² though I take Arabic in its broader sense to include those Persian terms in its nautical vocabulary. The model dhows made at Lamu island are the work of a population which for centuries has seen Ḥaḍramī emigrants settling there. The connexion between Arab and Indian shipping must be equally close, and Mookerji's³ lists of shipping contain the names *djalabah* and 'grab'. As types of shipping known to the Yemen today, al-'Arshī⁴ lists the *hūri* or dug-out canoe, *kaṭīrah*, *za'imah*, *ṣunbūk* (sambook), *sā'iyah*, *baghlah*, and *safinah*.

'*Abari* (pl. 'abārī). Kindermann, p. 62, quotes Leo Hirsch who calls it (p. 76) *ibri*, and says it holds a crew of five men and is provided with a large sail. Alan Moore, *Last Days of Mast and Sail* (Oxford, 1925), p. 123, states that it is a vessel whose prow is downwards and its stern elevated. F. M. Hunter, *An Account of the British Settlement of Aden in Arabia* (London, 1877), pp. 83 ff., gives a list of craft putting into Aden, and some notes on where these are constructed. He says the '*abri* is built at al-Mukallā, and is a small boat of 5 to 15 tons, with 'long overhanging bows; mast slightly raked forward. The larger size

¹ 'Craft of the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden', *Mariner's Mirror* (London, 1920), vi. 100-1. Cf. also his *Last Days of Mast and Sail*, p. 128.

² *Words of Oriental Origin in Swahili* (London, 1940): p. 132, *jahazi*, a big sailing-vessel; p. 152, *foromali*, yard of a ship, Ḥaḍramī *fīrmān*; p. 179 *shetri*, poop, Ḥaḍramī *shitrī*; p. 180 *sitaha*, deck, Ḥaḍramī *saṭṭah*, &c.

³ R. Mookerji, *Indian Shipping* (Bombay, 1912), pp. 227 and 230.

⁴ Husain b. Aḥmad al-'Arshī, *Bulūgh al-Marām*, edit. Anastase Marie al-Kirmili (Cairo, 1939), p. 428. The *kaṭīrah* is never mentioned by the Ḥaḍramī chroniclers, but is known to Kindermann from al-Djabartī, &c. It is also known to Moore, op. cit., p. 133. For other information cf. F. M. Hunter, op. cit., p. 83. C. B. Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt* (London, 1878), p. 295, refers to *katēra* as a small coastal vessel, and I have heard the term used in the Sudan for a sailing-ship.

have generally two masts, and the smaller, one. A raised deck aft and light deck forward; removable mat (*talbis* (*R. B. S.*)) bulwark; straight keel; stem-sharp, and stern-post raking aft.' Saiyid Aḥmad al-ʿAṭṭās informs me that the *'abariyah* sambook is a type special to the Mahrah and the people of Sūr (Omanis) with a long prow (*rās ṭawil*); it is used for hunting the shark. It differs from an ordinary sambook in construction, being longer and wider. There is a special season when these sambooks come to al-Mukallā, called Mūsīm al-ʿAbārī. *Vide Ṣanbūḡ (infra)*.

Refs. p. 179.

Barshah (pl. *birash*, vocalization tentative). Kindermann, *galliot*, *long covered boat*. It can, however, mean *a large ship*, and this is what the Dutch vessel with sixty guns was (p. 122). I propose that this is the same word as the Ottoman Turkish *barça*, *bārchah*, and a Frankish vessel of this type is shown in Pl. 8b.

Refs. pp. 44, 119, 181.

Djalabah (pl. *djilāb*, vocalization tentative). Kindermann, *large dhow*. Dozy, *grande barque ou gondole, faite de planches jointes avec des cordes de fibres de cocotier*. Apart from the references in the two previous sources, cf. Buzurg b. Shahriyār, *Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, edit. and trans. P. A. van der Lith and L. M. Devic (Leiden, 1883-6), p. 86 (early tenth century A.D.); Al-Shardjī, *Tabaḡāt*, pp. 37 and 127; Maḡrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 87, 787. In 580 H. *djilāb* are mentioned at Kūṣ, and Aden *djilāb* specifically. C. F. Beckingham, *Dutch Travellers*, i. 68, *selbi*, skiff made of planks sewn together with coir; Middleton/Astley, i. 423, *jelba*; Silvestre de Sacy, trans. *al-Barḡ al-Yamānī*, op. cit., p. 456, *al-djilāb wa-'l-za'ā'im* at Mocha; A. S. Tritton, *Rise of the Imams of Sanaa* (London-Madras, 1928), p. 131; *Al-Tiryāḡ al-Shāf*, Brit. Mus. MS., fol. 52a; Shumovsky, op. cit., p. 154. For a popular Ḥaḍramī verse on ships of this type see *Prose and Poetry*, p. 66, no. 183. Curiously this is not mentioned by al-ʿArshī, p. 428, in his list of names of shipping in the Yemen.

Refs. pp. 57, 69, 100, 114, 133, 170, 179.

Ghaliyūn. Kindermann, *galleon*. Cf. Lopes, *Extractos*, p. 16, قليون. Cf. p. 179 for the meaning of *Qalion* in Turkish writers.

Refs. pp. 51, 111, 179.

Ghurāb (pl. *aghribah*, *ghirbān*). Kindermann, *grab*. 'There are large and small types; the large types resemble large galleys (*galères*), the small types are designed as oared galliots or "demi-navires" with oars.' It seems to have comprised a large range of varieties, sailing-vessels as well as galleys. Al-Djarmūzī (p. 114) speaks of the *kilyātah* as resembling the grab. To the many sources cited by Kindermann

may be added Ulughkhānī, op. cit., pp. 283 and 287, where teak is mentioned as being used in their construction in India. One manuscript reads *ḡurāb* for *ghurāb* which, if not a simple error, might represent the pronunciation of *gh* as *ḡ* so commonly heard.

Refs. pp. 44, 62, 67.

Khashabah (pl. *khashab*). Kindermann, *sailing-ship*. It is still used in al-Mukallā as a kind of *dhow*. Alan Moore, *Craft of the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden*, op. cit., p. 76, states that 'the people of Sur call the baghila khasaba, wood'. Nabhānī says 'they express all ships as Khashab'. Cf. Badger, *J.R.A.S.* (London, 1889), xxi. 875; George Rentz, 'Pearling in the Persian Gulf', *Univ. of California Semitic and Oriental Studies presented to William Popper 1951* (Berkeley, 1951), xi. 317. It is not mentioned by al-'Arshī, loc. laud. Cf. Shumovsky, op. cit., p. 155, but it is of very frequent occurrence also in the *Instructions nautiques*, e.g. 11, 30a (pl. -āt).

Refs. pp. 48, 51, 74, 89.

Kilyāṭah. Cf. Kindermann, basing himself on Ḥājdjī Khalīfah (cf. p. 179 *supra*), makes *ghilyāṭah* (my vocalization on the basis of al-Djarmūzī's vowelling) equivalent to the Turkish *qalita*. Etymologically this seems reasonable, but there is no indication in the text to show whether it was a galley like the Turkish *qalita*, or a sailing-ship. I incline to the opinion that it was the latter. It is said to resemble a grab but to be more mobile. R. Mookerji, op. cit., gives *gallivat*, large row-boats, the maximum being 70 tons (p. 241).

Refs. pp. 114, 134.

Kiṭ'ah (pl. *kaṭā'i'*). Kindermann, *craft*, sometimes *galley*. I wondered if this should be identified with Alan Moore, op. cit., p. 76, *kutia*, boat, and perhaps with the Indian *cotia*, cf. Hobson-Jobson, op. cit., citing Castanheda, iii. 25, where in 1552 it seems to have been the name of a craft used on the Malabar coast, but *kūtiyah* is used at al-Shiḥr while *kiṭ'ah* does not seem to be known. Cf. Brit. Mus. MS. *al-Tiryāḡ al-Shāf*, fol. 14, *kiṭ'ah*.

Refs. pp. 65, 92, 174.

Mismāriyah (pl. -āt). Kindermann, *cargo-vessels*. Silvestre de Sacy, op. cit., p. 467, *petites barques*; Shumovsky, op. cit., text 104^v; Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques*, i. 79a and 165b (? in the sense of some kind of vessel?); Ibn ʿIyās, edit. Kahle, op. cit., iv. 103, *marākib mismāri*. As Kindermann remarks, the term should imply 'nailed vessels', and possibly this is the correct sense here.

Refs. pp. 64, 174.

Ṣanbūk (pl. *ṣanābīḡ*). It may be spelled with *ṣin* or *ṣād*, and in S. Arabia usually with the latter. Kindermann supplies numerous citations, but

I have rendered it as *sambook*, since it appears thus in many European books. J. Hornell, 'A Tentative Classification of Arab Sea-Craft', *Mariner's Mirror* (1942), xxviii. 18, has a good illustration of an Aden sambook; he states that the Zanzibar modification of the sambook is called a *jahāzī* (*djahāzī*, see *infra*, Tadjhiz), while yet another illustration may be seen in Alan Moore, *Last Days of Mast and Sail*, p. 128.

The Mahrī and Oman type of sambook is known as 'abari (pl. 'abārī), cf. p. 133.

Refs. pp. 58, 63, 64, 68, 69, 82, 174, 179, and 'Sambook' in Glossary of Foreign Words.

Tadjhiz (pl. *tadjāhiz*). *Expedition*, but perhaps also *fleet*, *squadron*. Cf. Dozy, *djahhaz markab-an, armer, équiper un vaisseau*, and Kindermann, *djihāz* (pl. -āt in the *Mulakhkhas-al-Fitan*, MS. laud.), meaning a vessel, a word known to such authors as Shanbal, in Mahrī, and in Swahili. Bā Faḳīh, when speaking of the Portuguese expeditions, invariably, I think, employs it, whereas for the Mameluke or Ottoman expeditions he uses *tadjrīdah* (q.v.). Ibn Ḥadjar, *Al-Fatāwā al-Kubrā*, i. 257, speaks of *tadjāhiz al-Ifrandj*. Ulughkhānī, op. cit., p. 218, however, uses it for the Mameluke naval expedition to India, and Bā Faḳīh, fol. 131a, applies it to a local Ḥaḍramī naval expedition.

Refs. pp. 48, 53, 57, 59, 67, 74, 75, 85, 100, 108.

Tadjrīdah. Dozy, *expédition*. Bā Faḳīh employs this word for the Mameluke or Ottoman expeditions.

Refs. pp. 41, 44, 66, 76, 77, 79, 86, 94, 99, 104, 107, 110.

Ṭalī'ah. Bin Djawhar told me that a *ṭalī'ah* is a swift sambook or *sā'ī* (dhow). He said it was really an epithet rather than the name of a particular type of craft. He quoted to me the following expressions applied, I think, to the *ṭalī'ah*, but it may have been to other vessels also: *Zuhrah*—i.e. *madhūnah rang zain*, &c., 'painted with a nice colour'; '*Aḳrah*, 'Scorpion'; *Abū Dik*, 'with a fine bow' [*ṣadr*]; *al-Djawharah*, 'Jewel'. The Brit. Mus. MS. of *Rawḥ al-Rūḥ*, fol. 10b, also alludes to a *ṭalī'ah*.

Ref. p. 107.

Ṭarrādah (pl. *Ṭarārid*). Kindermann, *an open skiff*. Ibn Djawhar told me it was a name for a sambook which travels swiftly but which otherwise is in no way distinguished from any other sambook. Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, op. cit. i. 56, says it is a *saḳīnah fī shakl al-barmil li-ḥaml al-khail wa-'l-fursān* (a ship in the shape of a barrel for conveying horses and knights). Cf. op. cit. i. 306, with the pl. form *ṭarā'id*, but Shanbal, in an expedition in 832 H. (A.D. 1428-9), and *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 75b, have *ṭarārid*. Cf. W. Thesiger, 'The Ma'dan

or Marsh Dwellers of Southern Iraq', *Jl. Roy. Central Asian Soc.* (London, 1954), xli. i. 14. R. Morton Nance, 'Terradas and Talismans', *Mariner's Mirror*, iv. 3-15, fig. 8, shows a one-masted terrada. The bows of these *terradas* are ornamented with suspended ornaments which look to me very like the *bairak* of the South Arabian saints (widely used as a sort of lucky charm), to provide *barakah* (good fortune) at sea. This is not an impossible explanation, for the hagiologies are full of miracles performed by the saints for their devotees who called upon them for help at sea. The same author published a further article, 'Fresh Light on "Terradas" and "Gelves"', *Mariner's Mirror* (1920), vi. 34-39. Unfortunately there is little very precise information on the *ṭarrādah* in these articles. A form *ṭarīdah* (pl. *ṭarārid*) is to be found in al-Khazradjī, *al-'Uḫūd al-Lu'lu'iyah*, edit. Muḥ. 'Asal, Gibb Memorial Series (London, 1913), III. iv. 211 (cf. p. 209). This carried the treasure of an expedition (*khizānah*). These ships were said to be the biggest ships, larger than a vessel known, in the plural, as *ḥawāsik*, and sambooks.

Refs. pp. 57, 61, 66, 105, 178, 179.

Additional references to the *barshah* (323); *djalabah* (327); *ghaliyūn* (355); *ḵaliyūn* (358); *ghurāb* (354); *sumāri(yah)* (341); *ṭarrādah* (348); as also to the *hūrī* and *ḵaṭīrah* in the medieval Yemen, are to be found in Ḥabīb Zaiyāt, 'Mu'djam al-marākib al-sufun fī 'l-Islām', *al-Mashriq* (Beirut, 1949), xliv. 321-64.

APPENDIX III

MONEY AND COINAGE IN THE TENTH/SIXTEENTH CENTURY AND LATER IN SOUTHERN ARABIA

THE *Fatāwā* collections for this period are rich in contemporary materials from which it would be possible to construct a reasonably coherent picture of the economic history of southern Arabia at that time. Here it is only attempted to discover something of the different currencies in circulation and their relative values in terms of each other. A complete survey is not yet feasible, as the *Fatāwā* at my disposal are rather voluminous manuscripts for the most part, and many more yet remain to be brought to light before all the potential evidence is available.

The importance of medieval Aden as a port of call on the Far Eastern trade-route ensured that any fluctuation in the price of bullion or commodities would instantly be felt there, and of course in other ports such as Mocha, al-Shiḥr, &c. Even the internal economy of the country must be affected in some degree by any modification in the patterns of trade at Aden resulting in a rise or fall of the income derived from customs, commerce, and port services. A poet says:

Ta'izz is capital of the Yemen.
Its taxes are derived from Aden.¹

On the other hand, territories like the Yemen and Ḥadramawt, though far from isolated from the main currents of Islāmic civilization, were sufficiently inaccessible in the simple physical sense to retain the characteristics of their own distinctive culture and economy. It should be possible to give a very detailed and accurate picture of the economic situation in southern Yemen when we have published and analysed the *Mulakhhkhaṣ al-Fitan*.² My experience is that today gold is extremely rare in the Aden Protectorates, and it has long been known that people think in terms of the silver riyaḷ and the qaḥḥah; this has persisted

¹ 'Two Sixteenth-Century Arabian Geographical Works', *B.S.O.A.S.* (London, 1958), xxi. ii. 262. Kharādj is the word translated as 'taxes'. Kaḷka-shandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* (Cairo, 1910), v. 10-11, gives an excellent account of the importance of Aden as a trading port, referring to the known seasons when shipping puts into it, replete with many interesting details.

² Cf. C. Cahen and R. B. Serjeant, 'A Fiscal Survey of the Mediaeval Yemen', *Arabica* (Leiden, 1957), iv. i. 23-33. It must be remarked, however, that the Yemen, so far as may be judged from the evidence at present known to us, does not reflect the fluctuations in the value of the coinage of Egypt as analysed by W. Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957), pp. 41-73.

to a great extent in the interior notwithstanding the introduction, first of the rupee, and now of the East African shilling. A situation, closely parallel in several important respects to what I have described today, was created in the tenth/sixteenth century as a result of circumstances set forth by F. W. Hasluck.¹

It is well known that the export of silver from the New World lowered the price of this metal, and that the economy of the Ottoman Empire suffered thereby. From the passage *infra*, an extract from the *Fatāwā* of Bā Makhramah,² it is possible to give a fairly exact period within which the fall in the price of silver was felt in Aden. It will be seen that the effect of the drop in the value of silver relative to gold was felt in the early period of Ottoman domination, but it is to be presumed that the easier trend of silver was encouraged by Portuguese imports of bullion into the Far East and East Africa.³

The dating of the actual problem set Bā Makhramah to decide must certainly be placed after 926 H. (A.D. 1520), the accession of the Ottoman Sulṭān Sulaimān, but with greater probability it should be placed after 955 H. (A.D. 1548) and not later than 972 H. (A.D. 1564-5), when Bā Makhramah was in Aden.

The problem is, in summary, as follows. At the close of the Ṭāhirid period (923 H., A.D. 1517), the Jewish community of Aden paid its poll-tax according to the dīnār reckoned in silver coins. The dīnār fidḡah was a notional coin equivalent to four dirhams according to Yemenite usage, or perhaps to ten dirhams; the basis for this statement will be discussed *infra*.⁴ Expressed in (notional) dīnārs the total assessment amounted to 7,000 dīnārs. Then, at the beginning of the Ottoman dynasty of the present time, says the writer, the Jewish poll-tax rose to 10,000, a buḡshah Sulaimānī;⁵ but, as he puts it, the price of gold relative to silver had risen, and the collector of poll-tax wished to re-assess the Jews in accordance with the new scale of values, i.e. on the basis that each adult male should pay an Islāmic gold dīnār or its equivalent value in silver. The Jews were refusing to accept the new assessment which, however, Bā Makhramah declared to be correct in accordance with *sharī'ah* law.

In the first place I find it impossible to believe that either amount paid by the Jews was assessed on a flat rate per adult male. This would give Aden a Jewish community of roughly 20,000 to 30,000 persons, which is too large, although Varthema estimates the population at the

¹ 'The Levantine Coinage', *Numismatic Chronicle* (London, 1921), v. i. 39-91.

² See Note FF, p. 180.

³ I have come across no early references to the riḡāl in Arabic sources, only the kirsh, cf. *supra*, p. 123.

⁴ See p. 144.

⁵ Cf. *infra*, pp. 140-1. The epithet is obviously derived from the name of the Ottoman Sulṭān Sulaimān I (926 H. (A.D. 1520)-974 H. (A.D. 1566-7)).

beginning of the century as only 5,000 to 6,000 families in all; and I incline to believe that they were assessed proportionately to their wealth as in both early Islāmic and modern times.¹

The second difficulty is over the phrase '*asharah ālāf buḵshah Sulaimānī*' which might also be rendered as '10,000 buḵshahs of the Sulṭān Sulaimān'. The buḵshah is quite a small coin, as we shall see;² the sum it represents would be less than the notional dīnārs. From this one would infer that the Jewish community had declined very sharply in wealth and numbers. No such assumption is warranted, even allowing for the effects of the Portuguese blockade and diversion of trade.

Professor Wittek has proposed an excellent derivation to me for the word *buḵshah* which is still a coin-name in the Yemen.³ It is the same word of course as *buḵdjah*, a square piece of cloth in which a Ḥaḍramī woman places her frock neatly folded when going out to see her friends, or in which odds and ends are wrapped, the little parcel then being carried on the head.⁴ In Turkish the Arabic words *kisah* and *ṣurrah* are used for specific sums, though they would in fact be *buḵdjahs* in which the coins are done up, and what would be more natural than that a Turk should refer to them by their Turkish rather than their Arabic name, and that this word should ultimately be applied to coins that composed the complete 'purse'? Therefore it is proposed that here the buḵshah is equivalent to a *kisah āltūn*, which is 10,000 gold pieces, which would be equivalent to the same number of ashrafis. However, as this sum had been paid not in ashrafis but in their equivalent of silver at the rate prevailing during the Ṭāhirid dynasty (850 H. (A.D. 1446)—922 H. (A.D. 1516–17)) the state was actually receiving less than Islāmic law demands.

The epithet 'Sulaimānī' seems to have been applied to silver coins. Ibn Ḥadjar,⁵ who came to Mecca in 933 H. (A.D. 1526) and is said variously to have died in 973 H. (A.D. 1565) or 974 H. or 994 H.,⁶ discusses a *nidhr* or bond to pay '*thalāth ḳiṭa' fiddah Sulaimānīyah*' each day as

¹ Cf. E. Brauer, *Jemenitische Juden* (Heidelberg, 1934), p. 271; J. W. Jones and C. P. Badger, *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema* (London, 1863), Hakluyt Society, p. 59. The varying rates of *djizyah* prescribed for the Nadjrān Christians and Jews are detailed in C. van Arendonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen* (Leiden, 1919), p. 300.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 149.

³ Ettore Rossi, *L'Arabo parlato a Šan'ā'* (Roma, 1939), pp. 151 ff. It appears also on the postage-stamps. W. Hinz, 'Islamische Masse und Gewichte', in B. Spuler, *Handbuch der Orientalistik* (Leiden, 1955), p. 11, says of the *boğça* that it is a 'Gewicht von 4 batman zu je 1580 dirham (osmanisch), somit 20, 268 kg. *Tarih Vesikaları* 1. (Ankara, 1941), p. 101, Mardin, A.D. 1518.'

⁴ Bā Ḥārūn's Hagiologies, acephalous MS. in my possession, fol. 53a, alludes to a buḵshat thiyāb in a story set at the end of the tenth/sixteenth century.

⁵ *Al-Fatāwā al-Kubrā*, ii. 282.

⁶ I am inclined to accept the date 974 H. (A.D. 1566–7) because it is so recorded in Ibn al-'Aidārūs, *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 287.

the maintenance costs of a family of children. These were obviously quite small coins, perhaps half a South Arabian buḡshah. Al-Ahdalī¹ alludes to 'sittat ālāf Sulaimānī min al-darāhim', 6,000 Sulaimānis consisting of dirhams. Again, in a Mūdiyah legal text I did not identify, reference is made to alf Sulaimānī manākīr² as being the price of a bull,³ but it is impossible to suggest a value for this coin until more information on prices is available.

The general situation is of course further complicated by the amount of debased coinage that was struck by the Ottoman Turks or their governors, of which more will be said later.

It may have been connected with the necessity of producing a reliable coinage, but perhaps for reasons of prestige, or for both, that Sulṭān Badr Bū Ṭuwairīḡ struck a coinage of his own, though it was probably limited in its circulation and none seems to have survived. Saiyid Muḡ. b. Hāshim states⁴ that in 937 H. (A.D. 1530-1) Badr struck silver coins 'min fi'at al-riyāl'⁵ (of the riyāl category), as well as half and quarter (riyāls) and small and large copper coinage. In 943 H. (A.D. 1536-7) he struck al-buḡshah al-Badriyah⁶ according to Bā Faḡīh al-Shiḡrī. Bā Faḡīh does not confirm Muḡ. b. Hāshim's statement, which nevertheless may be based on manuscript evidence unknown to me, but I am sceptical of such a statement in any event. What Bā Faḡīh does say⁷ is that in the year 934 H. (A.D. 1527-8) fulūs, of copper I suppose, were struck in al-Shiḡr and transactions (*ta'āmul*) took place with them.

In a tale set in Ḥaḡramawt and falling before 973 H. (A.D. 1565-6) in the last years of Badr Bū Ṭuwairīḡ's reign, Bā Hārūn⁸ refers to a

¹ *Fatāwā al-Ahdalī*, MS. seen with the Kāḡḡ of Mūdiyah.

² Redhouse, *Turkish and English Lexicon* (Constantinople, 1890), gives 'manḡūr' the sense of 'engraved', but Professor Wittek points out that it is evidently the Turkish coin مانغر ($\frac{1}{4}$ aqcheh) which was coined in very different weights and diameters. Ibn Dja'mān, *Fatāwā*, fol. 3b, alludes to darāhim wamanākīr being collected by a minstrel.

³ Ibn Dja'mān, op. cit., fol. 306b, seems to suggest that the price of a cow is 6 dhahabs. Assuming that bulls and cows are always sold at the same price and at all periods, this would make a dhahab or ashrafī equivalent to about 166 Sulaimānis! Such assumptions cannot of course be accepted, but one does obtain some conception of the relative value of the Sulaimānī *vis-à-vis* the ashrafī. Cf. p. 149, n. 1, where it is said kine on Socotra in 1612 cost 12 riyāls of eight each.

⁴ *Tārīkh*, p. 38.

⁵ The Arabic is slightly ambiguous.

⁶ Bā Faḡīh al-Shiḡrī MS., fol. 86a.

⁷ Op. cit., fol. 65b.

⁸ Bā Hārūn, op. cit., fol. 38a. The Arabic runs بقة طقت عليها مثل الحرز and I propose *ṭubīḡat* be read, a word for which Dozy gives the sense of *plaque*. Buḡshahs are the ordinary coin mentioned in this work, covering the tenth/sixteenth century, and ashrafīs. Indian coins figuring in tales set in India, probably Gujerat and specially Aḡmadābād, are: 4 dairiyah (?) (53b), 40 s niyah, 16 Ibrāhīmīs, 100 Maḡmūdīs (60a-b); the latter coin occurs several times.

buḵshah 'upon which is impressed a thing like an amulet'. By this I suppose he means the little square leather amulet worn on the arm, though there are other sorts. This might be the buḵshah coined by Badr of which no examples are extant.

A fundamental case from Ḥadramawt, also, is recorded by Bā Makhramah¹ which could date from his first tenure of office at al-Shihḥ in 943 H. (A.D. 1536-7), the date also of the appearance of the buḵshah, or, with regard to what follows far more likely, the second time he acted as *kādi* in 954 H. (A.D. 1547-8). It is a question of an '*uḥdah* contract,'² i.e. the mortgaging of palm-trees, the creditor to enjoy the usufruct until such time as the debt is honoured.

The general sense of the passage seems to be that a man having mortgaged palm-trees in old bāshī dirhams equivalent at the time to 100 ashrafīs, now offers his creditor the equivalent of 100 bāshī ashrafīs (or 100 ashrafīs composed of bāshīyah (dirhams)) in Sulṭān Badr's new coinage, i.e. in silver. But the ashrafī constituted of Badr's silver coinage (i.e. buḵshahs and presumably fractions of a buḵshah) is at par with 10 old bāshī dirhams. The point of law involved is of course whether acceptance of the new buḵshahs is to be regarded as usury, and *ergo* counter to *sharī'ah* law, or not. Bā Makhramah arrives at the decision that it is lawful to accept the new buḵshahs.

The term 'bāshī' is difficult, and at first I had thought it might be connected with Hasluck's³ statement that 'the secret mints of the provincial Pashas coined for the sole benefit of their masters'. But, according to Zambaur,⁴ the Turkish governors of Aden do not bear the title Bāshā until 952 H. Professor Wittek has suggested what may be a more satisfactory identification with the Turkish numeral *bāsh*, five. Were this indeed a 5 maidin piece, then a bāshī dirham equivalent in value to 5 maidins would run at 8 to the ducat. We know that in 1537 the soldiers of Sulaimān Bāshā's force at Suez, before setting sail for India, were paid 5 ducats of gold and 10 maydins, making 205 maydins in all, as we

¹ Epitome of his *Fatāwā*, photographs in S.O.A.S. Library, fol. 174a-b:

مسألة شخص متعهد نخلاً في دراهم باشية قديمة قدرها مائة أشرفي مثلاً فأحضر
للبيع مائة أشرفي باشية بسكة السلطان بدر والحال أن أشرفي (sic) بسكة بدر
يروج في المعاملة عن عشر باسيات (باشيات L.) قديمة ورضى المتعهد بقبول البدرية
وفسخ العهد فهل يصح قبضه للبدرية عن الباشية (الباشه Text) القديمة مع
الرضى أم لا؟

² Discussed in my 'Materials for South Arabian History' (ii), *B.S.O.A.S.* (London, 1950), xiii. iii. 591-2. I have since obtained much new material on this subject.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁴ E. Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie* (Hannover, 1927), i. 122.

have the testimony of the Venetian officer pressed into Turkish service on this point.¹ The ducat would then be worth 41 maydins, and he says again² that half a maydin was equivalent to 2 pence of Venice. In view of the lack of evidence the identification of the *bāshī* coin is still hypothetical, but the alteration in the currency is probably to be connected with the statement recorded by Bā Faḫīh al-Shihri³ under the annals for the year 946 H. (A.D. 1539-40).

Again I am not quite sure how to interpret the passage, but think that it means that the new coinage was issued in Aden, what it was not being precisely stated, and that 2 *muḥallaḳs*⁴ were equivalent to a *bāshah* (*sic*). As there were certain unsettled matters concerning the rate of change this caused hardship to wage-earners.

I have no further evidence of the occurrence of the term '*bāshah*' as a coin-name, but Ibn Ḥadjar,⁵ who is roughly contemporary with these events, states that a *muḥallaḳ radi*, a base *muḥallaḳ*, sells for *fulūs khālīshah*, its equivalent in copper coins only (?), and is valued at an '*Uthmānī plus fulūs*, a phrase which I interpret as implying that it sold for the copper equivalent of an '*Uthmānī plus a fluctuating rate of copper coins always less than an 'Uthmānī*. The new *muḥallaḳ*, he infers, sells at 2 '*Uthmānīs*. Perhaps the new *muḥallaḳ* is to be identified with the coinage issued in Aden in 946 H. (A.D. 1539-40). As we shall see *infra* the *buḳshah* was also equivalent to 2 '*Uthmānīs* and is perhaps therefore another name, at least sometimes, for the *muḥallaḳ*. A *bāshah* would therefore seem to be worth 4 *muḥallaḳs*. About Ibn Ḥadjar's time Professor Wittek has demonstrated to me that the '*Uthmānī* is an *akchēh*.

As stated above, the South Arabians think always in terms of silver, and in fact in weight of silver, especially because of the many defalcations such as clipping, debasement to which any currency is subject. From the earliest times the *ḳaflah* has been the basic Yemenite coin, and

¹ 'The Voyage of Suleymān Basha from Suez to India, in his Expedition against the Portuguese at Diu in 1537. Written by an Officer from the Venetian Galleys (who was pressed into the 'Turkish Service)', in Thomas Astley, *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1745-7), i. 89.

² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

³ MS. cit., fol. 102b.

في يوم الاثنين مستهل جمادى الاولى اخرجت السكة الجديدة بعدن كل
بحلقين منها عن باشه وحصل بها اذية على المتسبين لانه وقع في كيفية صرفها
امور لم تنضبط .

⁴ By implication it seems, if my suggestion that the *bāshah* was a 5 *maidan* piece be correct, that it had sunk very appreciably in value. Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Fatāwā al-Kubrā*, iii. 110, refers to a sum of 20,000 *muḥallaḳs*. There is also a passing reference to the *muḥallaḳ* in Silvestre de Sacy, *La Foudre du Yémen*, iv. 434.

⁵ *Op. cit.* ii. 238.

the dirham *ḳaflah* is commonly mentioned in the *Kitāb al-Muntakhab* of the first Zaidī Imām, al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ.¹

In a general discussion on weights and coinage the author of the *Bughyat al-Fallāḥīn*,² who died in 778 H. (A.D. 1376), makes the statement that his father said the *ḳaflah*, *ḳirāt*, and *mithḳāl* did not differ—he means in their weight from place to place in the Yemen, I should think—but the *raṭl* does differ, i.e. in the number of *ūḳīyahs* which constitute it. This is true in Ḥaḍramawt right down to the present day. The *raṭl*, however, is usually reckoned at 12 *ūḳīyahs*.³ The following table is based on actual statements from the *Bughyah* or worked out from the figures given there.

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|---|------------------------------|
| Yemeni Dirham | . | . | . | 10 <i>ḳirāṣ</i> |
| Ḳaflah (not a coin) | . | . | . | 16 <i>ḳirāṣ</i> |
| Yemeni Dīnār | . | . | . | 4 dirhams (40 <i>ḳirāṣ</i>) |
| Mithḳāl | . | . | . | 24 <i>ḳirāṣ</i> |
| Ūḳīyah of gold | . | . | . | 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ mithḳāls |
| | | | | 10 <i>ḳaflahs</i> |
| Raṭl of Dirhams | . | . | . | [1]92 dirhams ⁴ |
| | | | | 48 Yemeni dīnārs |

The Yemeni dirham is stated to be equivalent to 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ dangs, and the dang is said to be called a *djāyiz*⁵ in the Yemen.

Although the Yemenis thought of the dīnār as 4 dirhams, it is probable that the volume of external trade along their coasts necessitated that at times they use the calculation of 10 dirhams to the dīnār, though in the interior this may not have been the practice. Al-Shardjī⁶ (*ob.* 893 H. (A.D. 1487–8)) says that the dīnār is *arba'ah darāhim fī iṣṭilāḥ ahl al-Yaman* (4 dirhams according to the technical usage of the Yemenites). But he also mentions⁷ *sittīn dīnār-an 'ushāriyah*, and⁸ *arba'in dīnār-an 'ushāriyah*, which I propose to interpret as 60 and 40 dinars, perhaps indeed actual gold pieces, with a corresponding silver value of 10 dirhams to the dīnār.

In the third quarter of the tenth/sixteenth century Bā Makhramah⁹ states that by the word *ūḳīyah* the Yemenis mean 7 dīnārs, an assertion

¹ See Note GG, p. 181.

² Al-Malik al-Afḍal 'Abbās b. al-Malik al-Mudjāhid . . . b. Rasūl, my transcript of the Tarīm MS. Cf. Brock., *Sup.* ii. 236.

³ It is sometimes 15 *ūḳīyahs*, sometimes less than 12. In Abyssinia it seems as a rule to have been 12 *ūḳīyahs*.

⁴ The text gives 92 dirhams only, but simple multiplication shows that the word 'hundred' must be missing.

⁵ Cf. O. Löfgren, *Arabische Texte*, glossary, p. 27; Hinz, *op. cit.*, p. 11, usually a sixth of a dirham.

⁶ *Ṭabaḳāt al-Khawāṣṣ* (Cairo, 1903), p. 22.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 173.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁹ *Fatāwā* (epitome), fol. 156b.

which, as we have seen *supra*, the *Bughyah* would support, and by the word 'asharah (ten) they mean 10 dinārs. He also gives the following more precise but parallel data:

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1 Kaflah | 16 Egyptian kīrāts ¹ |
| 1 Yemeni Ūkīyah ² | 10 kaflahs |
| 1 Aden Raṭl | 12½ Yemeni ūkīyahs ³ |

For the eleventh/seventeenth century Professor Tritton has provided⁴ data culled from manuscripts of the period which with other authorities enable us to build up a fairly close picture of the coinage of not only the eleventh century but the previous century also. I have worked out the relationship of the various terms as follows:

1. *The Harf Aḥmar, or Harf Dhahab Aḥmar*, known also simply as al-Dhahab⁵ as in Turkish

This coin is to be identified with the ashrafi, and possibly sometimes with the sequin of which actual examples, or at least faithful copies, are to be seen on the dagger-handles of Sultāns to this day.⁶ In 1554 the Aden ashrafi was worth 360 reis at Goa, the Venetian sequin 420 reis, and the new Portuguese gold cruzado 420 reis.⁷ Hasluck⁸ states that the European ducat was worth about 7s. 6d., but Captain Saris, a good contemporary source, makes the Mocha sequin roughly at par with 5s.⁹ in A.D. 1612, which, in the light of other evidence, seems to be the usual

¹ Hinz, op. cit., p. 27, states that the Egyptian kīrāt weighs 0.195 gm., or one-sixteenth of a dirham. A simple multiplication sum makes the kaflah 3.12 gm., and the ūkīyah 31.2 gm.

² See p. 103, n. 4.

³ Bā Makhramah also supplies the following data:

| | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 Baghdād raṭl | 128½ dirhams |
| 1 Aden buhār | 300 raṭls |
| | 277 and a fraction of Baghdād raṭls |
| 1 Baghdād raṭl | 2160 kīrāts |
| 1 Aden raṭl | 2,000 kīrāts |
| 1 Aden buhār | 600,000 kīrāts |
| 1 Islāmic dirham | 16½ kīrāts |

⁴ A. S. Tritton, *Rise of the Imams of Sanaa* (Madras, 1925), pp. 134-5. No textual or MS. references are supplied, which unfortunately renders it impossible to consult the contexts.

⁵ See Note HH, p. 182.

⁶ I say copies, because silversmiths make castings from genuine old coins for ornaments. Sometimes these coins are cast in reverse; examples from Ḥaḍramawt are now in the Cambridge University Museum of Ethnology. It is noteworthy that some of the silver copies of coins cast as ornaments are extremely thin. I put this down to poor copying, but perhaps the original types were not much thicker.

⁷ Antonio Nunez, in Gabriel Ferrand, 'Les Poids, mesures et monnaies des mers du Sud . . .', *Journal Asiatique* (Paris, 1920, reprint 1921), p. 75.

⁸ Op. cit., p. 47.

⁹ *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), i. 348; Astley, op. cit., i. 467.

value of the coin in South Arabia. Ettore Rossi¹ reports that in 1937 the word *ḥarf* was used for gold in the form of Turkish coins or sterling.

2. *The Kīrsh*

The earliest source known to me at present for this coin in South Arabia is Ibn Dja'mān's *Fatāwā*.² Ibn Dja'mān died in 1034 H. (A.D. 1624-5), but as he was the Muftī of Zabīd we may assume that he was active partly in the tenth century to have become sufficiently prominent to occupy such a post. He discusses the *zakāt al-nukūd*, poor-tax on money, such as *ḡurūsh*. A fortieth part is taken on every 5 ūḡīyahs, the assessable number of *ḡurūsh* is $5\frac{1}{2}$, and half a *ḡirsh* is payable on every 20. This establishes that the *ḡirsh* was an ūḡīyah in weight, which is an important fact.

It is reasonable to assume that it was approximately equivalent to a piece of eight. Captain Saris in A.D. 1612 speaks in terms of *riyāl* of eight in the transactions he effected at Mocha.³ In Purchase the text is badly printed, but here one of the fractions that appears in the bills is $\frac{1}{40}$; on the other hand, in Thomas Astley's version, the fractions are $\frac{1}{48}$, $\frac{1}{24}$, $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, from which it may be deduced that, as these can all be expressed as parts of 48, the *riyāl* was valued at 48 smaller coins, probably *buḡshahs*. Not so long ago pieces of eight of Charles II of Spain were found in a small hoard at Aden, i.e. coins belonging to the latter half of the seventeenth century.⁴ Hasluck⁵ states that any dollar is roughly $\frac{2}{3}$ of any ducat, and Sauvaire⁶ notes that the Venetian ducat was worth 60 aspres and the piastre 40 aspres.

It is significant that the Arabic reference is to the *ḡirsh* and not to the *riyāl*. That the former term should be current would seem to imply that silver pieces of this value, whatever their country of origin, first arrived in South Arabia from the eastern Mediterranean.

Today the Maria Theresa dollar, *ḡirsh*, *riyāl* (*Farānṣā*) is an ūḡīyah of silver of 10 *ḡaflahs*.

3. *The (Dirham) Kabīr*

The *dirham kabīr* and the *dirham ṣaḡhīr* are frequently mentioned by Shanbal in the period before the Turks and Portuguese when chronicling high prices during famine years. The earliest date under which Shanbal mentions the *dirham kabīr* is 810 H. (A.D. 1407-8). Ibn al-Mujāwīr,

¹ Op. cit., pp. 151 ff. ² *Fatāwā*, fol. 43b. ³ *Purchas*, op. cit., p. 351.

⁴ For this information I am indebted to Dr. J. Walker of the British Museum.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 50.

⁶ H. Sauvaire, 'Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes', *Journal Asiatique* (Paris, 1881-2). The *ashrafi* was to replace European gold coins used in the Levant and in the Yemen, and it had the same weight. Cf. Ibn 'Taghribirdī, *History of Egypt*, trans. W. Popper (Berkeley, 1958), iv. 30.

however, categorically states that the first monarch to strike the dirham kabīr was al-Malik al-Mu'izz Isma'il b. Tughtakīn (593-8 H. (A.D. 1196-1201)) and that its weight was 13 kīrāts as contrasted with the 'Abbāsīd, and later Saifī dirhams, the latter weighing 4 kīrāts and a ḥabbah.¹ This corresponds with certain coins discussed on p. 181, Note GG.

A question was put to Ibn Ḥadjar² in the following form. Supposing, he was asked, one's trading capital were base money (*naḳd maghshūsh*), 'like al-sawdā' (lit. black) with us, and al-kibār (kabīrs) with you, for example, 100 ashrafīs, the ashrafī with you being 112 dīnārs of "black" (*dīnār sawdā'*) with us, both being below the legal minimum assessable for taxation (*niṣāb*). The 100 ashrafīs in kabīr-coins (*al-mī'at al-ashrafī al-kibār*) are evaluated and 150 ashrafīs (in silver coin) produced, but this is also below the niṣāb (which of course is 200 Islāmic dirhams), because of the debasement (*ghashsh*). (The question is followed by another in which Ibn Ḥadjar is asked to consider the case where 150 ashrafīs (i.e. in silver coin) amount to 200 dirhams.)

I find the question difficult to understand and it is gratifying to discover that Ibn Ḥadjar himself finds some obscurity in it, but certain points emerge. The 100 ashrafīs and 112 dīnārs are merely notional coins, the former consisting of silver, and the latter of black (*sawdā'*) dirhams. If the case is not purely hypothetical and the silver was debased to the extent that the question implies, the coinage can have had little silver content. That the silver equivalent of 150 ashrafīs, gold pieces, should be only worth 5½ silver kīrsh/riyāls, implies that this was the case. Assuming that Ibn Ḥadjar died in 974 H. (A.D. 1566-7), one may date this approximately at the mid-tenth/sixteenth century. We may compare it with a remark in Bā Makhramah's *Fatāwā*³ that the custom ('urf) is that the ūḳiyah means black dirhams (*darāhim sawdā'*), i.e. debased coins. But the last statement must be taken to mean the silver equivalent of an ūḳiyah of gold—which latter would actually be 7 dīnārs.

At the close of the tenth/sixteenth century, or opening of the following century, Ibn Dja'mān was set a somewhat similar problem⁴ arising from the debasement of the silver coinage. Again it is a question of ascertaining the correct legal minimum liable to assessment for the

¹ Tārīkh al-Mustabshir, edit. O. Löfgren, *Descriptio Arabiae Meridionalis* (Leiden, 1951-), i. 89.

² *Al-Fatāwā al-Kubrā*, ii. 39. Cf. ii. 237 for a passing reference to Meccan kabīrs. Bā Makhramah, *Fatāwā*, fol. 183a, states that 'it is not lawful to change black [i.e. base silver coin], known as Mas'ūdiyyah in our country for white [i.e. good silver coin], nor the reverse' (wa-lā yadjūz ibdāl al-sawdā' wa-hiya 'llatī tu'raf bi-'l-Mas'ūdiyyah fī djiḥati-nā 'an al-baidā' wa-lā 'aksu-hu). Needless to repeat, Bā Makhramah's term relates to the Yemen and/or possibly Ḥadramawt.

³ Bā Makhramah, *Fatāwā* (epitome), S.O.A.S. photocopy, fol. 154b.

⁴ Op. cit., fols. 43b ff.

zakāt tax. Is the normal Islāmic practice of charging 5 dirhams by way of *zakāt* tax on every 200 dirhams to be followed in the case of these dirhams which are not pure silver (*khālīṣah*)? The money-changers (*ṣayārifah*) aver that a third part of them is base (*ḍa'if*). So, say the latter, the correct minimum sum liable to attract the *zakāt* tax (i.e. the *niṣāb*) is actually $7\frac{1}{2}$ dhahabs (i.e. gold coins). Would 40 kabīrs be then chargeable upon every 40 dhahabs in copper coinage (? *dhahab min al-fulūs*)? To which Ibn Dja'mān makes reply that no *zakāt* is levied upon copper coins (*fulūs*).¹

The legal issue need not detain us here, but it can be deduced that, reckoning the *zakāt* at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the proper ratio of kabīrs to the dhahab was considered to be 40, though it has been shown that before Ibn Dja'mān the copper content of the silver coinage had been increasing in Arabia as in other parts of the Levant. Assuming that the dhahab itself was undebased, the implication is that the money-changers considered that its equivalent in silver coinage current at the time was actually 60 kabīrs of debased silver coin. Some readjustment seems to have been made even in Ibn Dja'mān's own lifetime, for there is another case in the *Fatāwā*² where a certain person is owed 12 dhahabs, gold coins, the rate of exchange of the debt being 40 kabīrs of silver of Ṣan'ā' (*ṣarf al-dain arba'in kabir-an fiḍḍah Ṣan'āniyah*). Settlement of the debt had been deferred, and when payment fell due the Sulṭān had abolished those dirhams (*abṭal tilka 'l-darāhim*). The debtor produced dirhams, but the creditor seems to have wished repayment in dinārs.³ At this point I am a little uncertain as to the precise meaning of the text, but Ibn Dja'mān seems to support the view that, if it be current custom in any place to designate a sum in dinārs, i.e. gold, but pay in silver coins (dirhams), then this procedure is valid, but he appends a proviso thereto that payment must be in the coin current at the time the debt was contracted—whether this coinage be current at the actual time of payment or not.

Quoting al-Muḥibbī, Wüstenfeld⁴ remarks on the high cost of a

¹ See Note II, p. 182.

² *Fatāwā*, fol. 88a.

³ Ibn Dja'mān, *Fatāwā*, fol. 114b, alludes to a *djanbiyat hurūf*, which I understand to be a dagger the hilt of which is ornamented with gold coins, each ḥarf being 40 kabīrs. To make matters more confusing, however, he mentions *ṭhamānūn kabir-an min al-darāhim al-ḳādimah allatī ubṭil al-āmil bi-hā* (80 kabīrs consisting of old dirhams, the current use of which has been abolished (fol. 122a). Again (fol. 328a) there are *sab'in kabir-an fiḍḍah* (70 kabīrs of silver), and a debt of *mī'at kabir fiḍḍah dain-an darāhim* (a 100 kabīrs of silver by way of a debt, dirhams). The ḥarf/dhahab of 40 kabīrs confirms the deduction from the other passage *infra*.

⁴ *Jemen im XVII. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1884), p. 48. *Al-Sanā' al-Bāhir*, fol. 313, notes that in 942 H. (A.D. 1535-6) the official in charge of Bahādur's women at Mecca (cf. *supra*, p. 72) was assigned '900 'Uthmānis daily stipend

hen's egg¹ in the famine of 1029 H. (A.D. 1619–20) at 1 buḳdjah, i.e. a kabīr worth 2 'Uthmānīs. Allusion has already been made to the 'new muḥallaḳ' of Ibn Ḥadjar's time, which sold at 2 'Uthmānīs. If, after the lapse of at least fifty-five years from his decease, this 'new muḥallaḳ' was still worth 2 'Uthmānīs, then the kabīr, buḳdjah, and muḥallaḳ would all seem to be coins of the same value. As Ibn Ḥadjar was asked² what the equivalent of 'al-muḥallaḳah al-kibār' was in Islāmic dirhams, it would seem to be confirmed that, in his day, the kabīr and muḥallaḳ were the same coin under different names, but Ibn Ḥadjar avoids giving a direct reply, merely stating the value of an Islāmic dirham without reference to contemporary coinage. This kabīr, on the other hand, cannot be a coin of the same value as that mentioned *supra* in the somewhat obscure question which figures in Ibn Ḥadjar's *Fatāwā*.

4. *The Buḳshah*

Tritton³ states that 20 buḳshahs are rather more than 4 ḳaflahs. The ḳaflah, in consequence, must be equivalent to 4–5 buḳshahs.

Hence it follows that the ḳirsh must be worth 40 to 50 buḳshahs. The former figure would tally exactly with Ettore Rossi's statement⁴ that, today, 40 buḳshahs are equivalent to a ḳirsh/riyāl—however this correspondence may have come about, i.e. an 'imādī (riyāl).⁵

The 'Uthmānī, which was a name for the Turkish akcheh⁶ about the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, seems, from the notice quoted *supra*, to have sunk to half the buḳshah in value. The buḳshah, however, in the seventeenth century, is approximately equal in value to the old aspre in its relation to the ḳirsh/riyāl, as it used to be in the sixteenth

(*yawmīyah*), and 100 ard(abb)s each year'. The same source, fol. 297b, mentions also a sort of stipend paid to the Saiyid 'Arār b. 'Adjal (cf. p. 93) of 30 'Uthmānīs. Cf. Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar* (Cairo, 1869), iv. 298.

¹ This may be compared with Socotra prices given by John Saris, op. cit., loc. cit.: 'We paid here for kine twelve Ryalls of eight the piece, sheepe three shillings the piece, and for goats one Ryall of eight a piece, which though it be deare, yet are the most of them not mans meate, being so vildely, and more then beastly bugged and abused by the people, as that it was most lothsome to see, when they were opened. We paid for Rice three pence a pound, Dates three pence a pound, Hens twelue pence a piece, Tobacco seven hundred leaues a Ryall of eight, Egges pence a piece. The King will take no English money, but Ryales of eight.'

² *Al-Fatāwā al-Kubrā*, ii. 42.

³ A. S. Tritton, op. cit., pp. 134–5.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 151.

⁵ Even in the tenth/sixteenth century there may have been more than one type of buḳshah in circulation in South Arabia, for Bā Makhramah's unabridged *Fatāwā* (Dathīnah copy) speaks of *arba'-mī'at buḳshah Shāmīyah* (400 Syrian [? Damascan, or perhaps even North Yemenite] buḳshahs).

⁶ The akcheh was originally a quarter to a third of a dirham. Cf. Hasluck, op. cit., p. 44.

century A.D. It would seem to agree with the evidence to regard the buḵshah as identical with the maidin.

Sir Henry Middleton¹ in 1610 talks of pieces of gold, worth 40 Madines each, presented to him in Ṣan'ā' to which he travelled from Mocha. Assuming that the gold piece in question is Turkish (and we know that as early as 927 H. (A.D. 1520-1), Sulaimānī altūns were struck in Turkish Zabīd), and assuming that it was the same as a Mocha sequin which Saris (*supra*) has already stated to be worth 5s. English, then the ḵirsh and the sequin may have been of approximately the same value.² It is for this reason that I have proposed that the buḵshah may have been identical with the maidin. On the other hand, if we take the rate of good aspres to the maidin quoted by Hasluck³ for about the year A.D. 1600 as 2 to the maidin, and the 'good aspre' as meaning in South Arabia the buḵshah, and assuming the gold piece is worth something in the range of 7s. 6d. English, then we should arrive at a figure of 53 buḵshahs to the ḵirsh/riyāl, but this seems unlikely.

In short, the probable range of value of the buḵshah at this time may be placed somewhere between the two extremes of 40 and 50 to the ḵirsh/riyāl, but it is more likely usually to have fluctuated between 40 and 45. It may be possible by a careful perusal of all the contemporary European travellers and archives, and further Arabic sources, to be more precise, but this statement is probably valid in a general way. Again these deductions should be considered in relation to the value of the akcheh at $3\frac{3}{4}$ ḵirāṭs under Salīm I of Turkey, and its continuing decline in value to $1\frac{1}{2}$ ḵirāṭs under Murād III and 'Uthmān II, i.e. at the opening of the tenth century and early years of the eleventh century H.⁴

We have seen that there was a new issue of coinage in Aden in 946 H. (A.D. 1539-40) and it would be about this time that the ḵādī Bā Makh-ramah returned there from al-Shiḥr. To this final Aden period of his career I therefore assign a *fatwā*⁵ concerning the case of a person holding land in pledge for a debt in *darāhim biḵash*, i.e. silver buḵshah currency, described as *Z m riyah* or 'Adaniyah (Adenese), 'but the buḵshah existing today—its adulteration (*ghashsh*) is greater than the old, and the

¹ Sir H. Middleton's *Journey from Mokha to Sanaa*, in de la Roque's *Voyage to Arabia Foelix* (London, 1732), p. 267. Cf. John Saris, *op. cit.*, i. 351.

² Hasluck, *op. cit.*, p. 47, note, states that Turkish sequins and French and Spanish écus, at 180 aspres, were of the same value.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁴ Saiyid Ahmad al-'Aṭṭās writes that the old methods of accounting like the quarter (*rub'*) and eighth (*thumm*) and buḵshah are not used nowadays, especially since riyāls were changed for rupees, but many people of al-Shiḥr are acquainted with the way in which these accounts are made; the buḵshah is not itself current coin, but a technical accounting term.

⁵ *Fatāwā*, MS. cit., fol. 201a.

latter is not to be found'. The familiar question is asked whether payment should be made in the old or in the new coin. Bā Makhramah answers that the difference between the two types of buḵshah is well known to the experts in these affairs, and that the debtor, in order to redeem his land, must make full return in the old coins, or their equivalent in value of the current coinage. I have as yet found no explanation of the term *Z m riyaḥ*, but if it is not corrupt might it perhaps be derived from the name of the Pasha Uzdimir (956-63 H. (A.D. 1549-55))? This, of course, would mean that the buḵshah fell in value after his time if my suggestion, though it is very tentative, is correct. The *fatwā* in any case must have been pronounced before 972 H. (A.D. 1564-5).

5. *The Ḥarf, probably also Ḥarf Darāhim*

According to Niebuhr¹ in the eighteenth century, 2 ḥarf make a buḵshah. Though the value of the ḥarf fluctuated, no doubt, if we assume its relation to the buḵshah remained constant, it would probably be another term for the coin known as 'Uthmānī.

The ḥarf was obviously a coin of small value. Today the name is applied to 20 cents East African currency, a little over a penny. As it was worth something in the region of $\frac{1}{80}$ of an ounce of silver, it was almost certainly a copper coin.

Though in point of time far beyond the era with which this study is concerned, it is not entirely irrelevant to compare certain statistics for the eighteenth century. Thomas Brooks for the mid-eighteenth century records the following figures from Mocha:²

| | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1 Kaflah | . | . | . | . | 1 pennyweight, $\frac{13}{24}$ grain |
| 10 Kaflahs | . | . | . | . | 1 ūḵiyah |
| 15 Ūḵiyahs | . | . | . | . | 1 raṭl ³ |
| 40 Ūḵiyahs | . | . | . | . | 1 maund |
| 10 Maunds | . | . | . | . | 1 farāsilah |
| 15 Farāsilahs | . | . | . | . | 1 buhār ⁴ |

¹ See Note JJ, p. 183.

² *An Authentick Account of the Weights, Measures, Exchanges . . . made Use of, and paid at the several Ports in the East Indies . . . Together with An Account of all the Different Coins (both real and imaginary), by which all Accounts in Asia are Kept* (London, 1752), pp. 41-49. This is essentially the same table as we find in Ovington (c. A.D. 1696) in Sir William Foster, *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries*, Hakluyt Society (London, 1949), ii, C, p. 174, where fucneas must be ūḵiyahs, and coffilas, kaflahs. Cf. also K. Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade 1620-1740* (Copenhagen, 1958), p. 304, for weights and measures at Mocha.

³ Brooks (p. 43) says that from the Maund upwards at Beetlefukei (Bait al-Fakih) the calculation differs, as there are 29 ūḵiyahs to the Maund there.

⁴ Brooks gives the exact English weights of all these terms.

Brooks¹ mentions Cammashees, 'a small coin of low Silver stamp with the King's Names and Titles'. This can surely only be the Arabic khumsiyah (pl. khamāsī), which is still a Ḥaḍramī coin-name, though applied to something rather different. There are 10 of these to the dollar, 'arising and falling according to the want of them'. I think I have seen exactly such coins in the silversmiths' ateliers in the Wādī Daw'an.²

The notional money for keeping accounts is 'Dollars and Caveers', of which the Arabic original must be riyāls/kurūsh and kabīrs.

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|---|--------------------------------|
| 80 Kabīrs | . | . | . | 1 Mocha dollar |
| 121½ Mocha dollars | . | . | . | 100 Spanish dollars |
| Venetian (sequins?) | . | . | . | 2 dollars, 25 kabīrs of silver |
| Cerrifis (Sharīfis) | . | . | . | 1 dollar, 50 kabīrs |

He states, however, that 4 Mocha dollars consisting of khumsīyahs, at a weight of $12\frac{3}{4}$ ḳāflahs per dollar, amounts to 51 ḳāflahs. Assuming there are 10 khumsīyahs to the dollar the khumsīyah should weigh approximately $1\frac{1}{3}$ ḳāflahs; but I strongly suspect that the khumsīyah was intended conceptually to be 2 ḳāflahs in weight, however worn, clipped, or debased the actual coins were or became.

From the afore-going data it may be deduced that the kabīr was in the weight ratio of $6\frac{5}{17}$ kabīrs to the ḳāflah. It will be recalled that in the early seventeenth century the ratio had been 4-5 buḳshah/kabīrs to the ḳāflah.

Cotton is sold by the ḥarf, says Brooks, which must be a notional coin only, for he says nothing more of it, except to add that 9 ḥarfs are equivalent to $11\frac{1}{2}$ Mocha dollars. The Mocha dollar was then at that period roughly four-fifths of a ḥarf, which is not so very far from the dollar-ducats ratio at two-thirds, of Hasluck.

The *écu espèce* of Niebuhr,³ which must, I think, connote the Mocha dollar, is said by him to be equivalent to 80 buḳshahs; the latter,

¹ Op. cit., p. 44. Niebuhr, loc. cit., calls them Komassi. The present-day khumsiyah in Ḥaḍramawt, usually a Dutch copper, is of very low denomination. Foster, *The Red Sea*, p. 175, quotes Ovington that comassees are a small coin valued according to the government's pleasure, but they keep their accounts by an imaginary coin of caveers (kabīr) reckoning 80 to a dollar. Foster quotes Hamilton: 'The coin current is the cammassie which is heightened and lowered at the sheriffs [schroffs] or bankers discretion, from 50 to 80 for a current dollar, which is but an imaginary species, being always reckoned at 21½ per cent. lower than the Spanish dollar.' Francis Rogers, in 1701-2, values the comacey at 1d. or ¾d. ² Now in the Cambridge Museum of Ethnology.

³ Niebuhr mentions two other coins: the bali, which must, I think, be simply a worn coin, though of what type I am at present in no position to say, and the gold Venetian sequins which, he remarks, the Arabs call Mesgas. Nowadays these would be called mashkhaṣ for the term is still employed in Ḥaḍramawt. Cf. p. 182, Note HH, and W. Popper, op. cit., pp. 45, 46.

he states, is a notional coin, whereas Brooks dubs the notional coin a kabīr. The solution of this inconsistency or confusion between contemporary writers may lie in the fact that, as we have already perceived, at one time the bukdjah was also known as a kabīr, but by Niebuhr's age he finds a kabīr was equivalent to $2\frac{1}{2}$ buksahs.

James Bruce,¹ writing in the latter half of the eighteenth century, thought that the only money in the Yemen was a small coin less than a sixpence by which the value of all different denominations of foreign coin is ascertained. It is called the commesh (khumsīyah), loubia (unknown to me), muchsota (unknown to me), or ḥarf. The Venetian sequin equals 90 commeshes, 1 fonducli is equal to 80, and a Barbary sequin also 80. He adds that the fonducli is worth a commesh more when the Indian vessels are at Loheia.

If at the time of Niebuhr's visit to the Yemen there were 10 khumsīyahs to the Mocha dollar, or roughly 23 khumsīyahs to the Venetian sequin, the value of the khumsīyah in relation to the sequin would have apparently fallen by three-quarters by the time of Bruce's visit.

A short treatise or treatises, *Arsh al-Djināyāt* in the Vatican and Ambrosiana,² give methods for converting the bloodwit (*diyāh*), as expressed in terms of dinārs and dirhams, into riyāl, the Vatican copy being dated 1316 H. (A.D. 1898-9), both employing a form of *qirmeh* notation,³ and both allude to the *Kitāb al-Azhār*⁴ upon which they appear to be based. Equivalents are worked out for the bloodwit as expressed in the latter thesaurus of legal practice, in terms of mithkāl and dirhams, and the following table has been reconstituted from the text:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Mithkāl | 1 kirsh less $\frac{5}{12}$ kaflahs |
| 1 Kirsh (al-kirsh al-ḥadjar) ⁵ | $8\frac{2}{3}$ kaflahs 'of pure silver in the kaflah of the age'. |

¹ *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (London, 1790), i. 323. The actual travels took place in A.D. 1768-73. The silver of these commeshes was 'much adulterated' and had the appearance of pewter. Half commeshes were the smallest specie current in the Yemen.

² G. Levi della Vida, *Elenco dei Manoscritti arabici islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana* (1935), p. 180, MS. 1178 and E. Griffini, 'Lista dei manoscritti arabi . . .', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (Roma, 1910-19), iii-viii, the MS. is E.65 iv, but is in the uncatalogued portion of the collection.

³ Cf. Claude Cahen and R. B. Serjeant, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 ff.

⁴ Cf. Brock., *Gal.*, ii. 187, *Sup.*, ii. 244, and iii, note ii. 245. The author of the *Kitāb al-Azhār*, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtadā, died in 840 H. (A.D. 1437). Although a date appears in the Vatican copy of the little treatise mentioned, it may have been composed at an earlier period, but to establish this I must make a more critical examination than is at present possible.

⁵ At present I have no information about this kirsh, except that E. V. Stace, *English-Arabic Vocabulary* (London, 1893), p. 28, gives riyālāt ḥadjar as cash dollars, perhaps in distinction to dollars paid in kind (animals) in blood-wit payments.

| | | |
|------------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| 1 Kaflah | | $9\frac{3}{13}$ buḡshahs |
| 1 Kīrsh (al-ḡirsh al-ḡadjar) | | 80 buḡshahs ¹ |

This special kīrsh bears a different relation to the kaflah from all the other dollars, including the Maria Theresa dollar, that have been examined here, namely $8\frac{2}{3}$ kaflahs, as opposed to 10 kaflahs to the riyāl/kirsh.

The data amassed by Grohmann² from nineteenth-century travellers includes the information that the buḡshah ran at 16 to the Maria Theresa dollar in the Yemen, while in Ḥaḡramawt 5 buḡshahs were equivalent to 1 khumsīyah, which in turn was worth $\frac{1}{4}$ anna, though this could not be worth 3d. as he affirms.

From these brief surveys it is evident that there are still many puzzles to be solved, and the tentative nature of this sketch as a reconstruction must once more be repeated, for it is based largely on literary evidence, itself as yet far from exhaustive, and with but little reference to the actual coinage. Indeed we know very little about Yemenite coinage at present. The conclusions offered could scarcely be free from error, but the extent of these errors will be demonstrated only when further evidence is to hand.

¹ Though I do not wish to anticipate my publication of these short treatises the following data are interesting: The Islāmic dirham is $10\frac{1}{2}$ Ṣan'ānī kīrāṭs, each kīrāṭ being 4 sha'īrah. The Islāmic dirham is seven-sixteenths of a Yemenī muthkāl; it is also half of the kaflat al-wakt, the kaflah of the age, plus one-sixteenth of a kaflah. The kaflah is 16 kīrāṭs (as in the *Buḡhyat al-Fallāḡhīn*, *supra*, p. 144). The dīnār is the Frankish ḡarf aḡmar. These figures are extracted from the Ambrosiana MS.

² A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, ii, 97.

APPENDIX IV

BADR BŪ ṬUWAIRIK AND THE MAHRAH IN LEGEND AND HISTORY

THE story which follows was originally collected from a certain Sulaim of the Bait Ṣumaidah, a desert Mahri who had heard it from the Saiyids of Ghaidah. The translation has been made from an Arab version copied down as heard from Bin 'Amrūn, a merchant of Qishn, and I am indebted to Major Jim Ellis of the Aden Political Service who told me of its existence and obtained a copy for me.

The comparison of the legend with the sparse notices in the chronicles is a very good illustration of how legend is developed, and it demonstrates, I think, admirably, how little one can rely on legend even though the elements that go to compose it contain certain facts which can be established.

Badr b. Ṭuwaitik occupied Mahrah territory by means of the people of 'Atab. One of them, Saif al-Dawlah by name, it was, who dealt treacherously with Āl 'Afrīr, introducing Badr b. Ṭuwaitik into Mahrah territory. Badr b. Ṭuwaitik slew the Āl 'Afrīr in Qishn on the Yabnī road, behind Rās Dhī Yabnī, and their remains are still to be found, i.e. the remains of the slain, beneath large gravestones (*ḥiṣyān*). Entering Qishn village the children he slew, and the women, except one pregnant woman of the Āl 'Afrīr who fled to the mountains to the al-Zuwaidī tribe; she gave birth to a child called Sa'd Abu 'l-Shawārib (Sa'd of the moustaches), because when he grew up he refused to clip his moustaches until he should settle in his own country. So he travelled to Socotra to the Sulṭān Bin Mādjid of that time, and married his daughter, but he did not come near her. So then his wife asked him, 'Why do you not come near me?' To which he made reply, 'The Kathīrī has occupied my country, and killed my people, men, women, and children.' So his wife up and told her father, Bin Mādjid. Now at that time there were Franks in Socotra, it is supposed that they were Portuguese (Burtuḳālīyīn), so Bin Mādjid up and with the help of the Portuguese dispatched an army against Mahrah territory. They came to Qishn in dhows (*sawā'ī*), occupied it, and chased out Badr b. Ṭuwaitik. Even today (*li-hāl al-tārikh*) Badr b. Ṭuwaitik's forts are to be seen—it is said they destroyed them with cannon, then expelled Badr b. Ṭuwaitik from the land of the Mahrah, and set up (*naṣabū*) Sa'd of the Moustaches, the aforesaid, as Sulṭān. Whereupon he shaved off his moustaches in Qishn mosque in front of the people in fulfilment of his pledge. Then he brought his wife, Bin Mādjid's daughter from Socotra, and settled in Qishn, and she bore him a son called Ṭaw'arī. This

Ṭaw'arī married, and two sons came to him, they being 'Āmir b. Ṭaw'arī and Sa'd b. Ṭaw'arī. As for Sa'd he departed to his maternal uncles in Socotra and was appointed Sultān, but 'Āmir b. Ṭaw'arī remained in Qishn and became Sultān after his father, and those of the Āl 'Afrīr to be found there now at the present time are of his progeny.

Commentary

This passage may be compared with al-Shiḥrī's entry for the year 955 H. (A.D. 1548-9)¹ where we learn that Sa'd certainly did come back with the Portuguese, and presumably his brother who went to India, indicated there, is 'Āmir. But the Portuguese² had long given up Socotra Island. Ibn Mādjīd was the pilot³ who conducted the Portuguese from Malindi to India on Vasco da Gama's first epic voyage. That he was Lord of Socotra is highly improbable, but it is not impossible that there was some link between Malindi, Socotra, and Qishn. We find⁴ that Ibn Mādjīd himself alludes to the fact that 'Amr b. 'Afrār built a fort in Socotra in his account of the indigenous Christian population there quoted below. Badr took Qishn in 952 H. (A.D. 1545-6) (Al-Shiḥrī, fol. 131a-b), and Sa'id b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Afrār fled with his party from Qishn where Sultān Badr was, to Burūm in a fishing-boat, making the *ḥudjdj*. According to Al-Shiḥrī (fol. 132a) Badr engaged a party of Mahrah armed with muskets and zebratanas, and killed about sixty men of various tribes, a large number. Thus the memory of a notable slaughter is correct, but the interval between the loss of Qishn and the Portuguese bombardment of the fort is only some three years. Oral tradition has telescoped or drawn out the interval between events, and there has arisen much confusion thereby. The refusal of sexual intercourse, a sort of vow of abstinence, and the allowing the hair to grow until vengeance is exacted are customs remounting to the time of the Prophet, as we may read in the *Sīrah*.

¹ See p. 109.

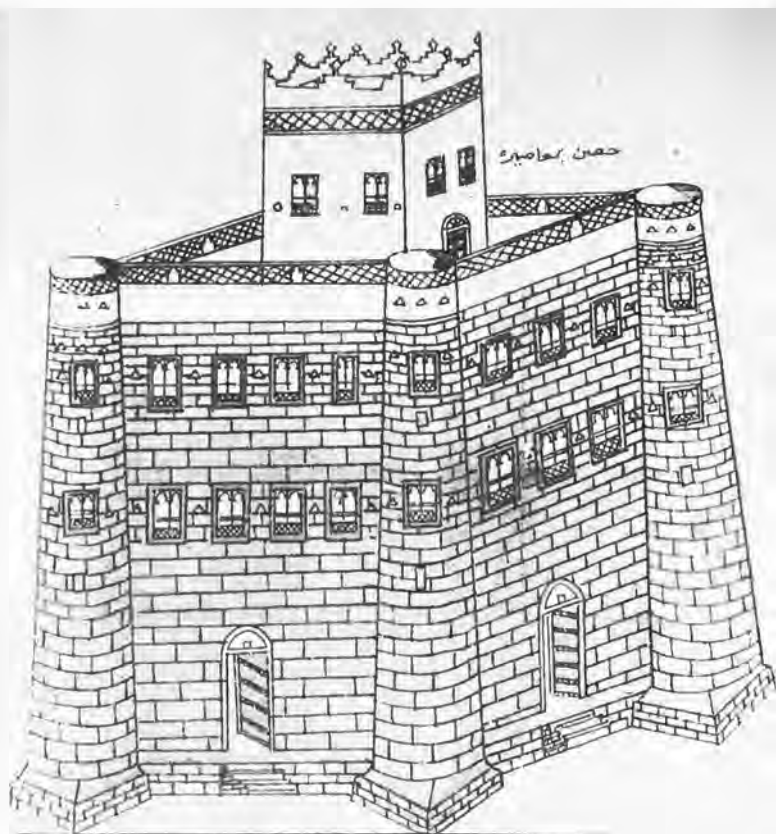
² A. Jahn, *Die Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien*, p. 169, calls them Berdeqāys, a term which he must then have heard from the Mahris.

³ Cf. G. Ferrand, introduction to the *Instructions nautiques*, i. 11.

⁴ See p. 157.



Feragey Fort, Socotra Island



Hadrami fort of the Yāfi'i type, drawn by Saiyid 'Uthmān b. Yahyā, described as 'ḥuṣn bi-ma'āsirihi', i.e. fort with round towers at the corners

APPENDIX V

SOCOTRA

IBN MĀDJID¹ has given an interesting account of Socotra in the period anterior to the arrival of the Portuguese and their attack on the island, pertinent to the events related *supra*. In Socotra, he says, live the Ahmādj al-Naṣārā, a mixed rabble of Christians, as one might render it, but the term *hamadj* is used in Nigeria, for example, to describe pagans, and he speaks also of the 'Ahmādj Sufālah', 'the (negroid) pagans of Sofalah',² so perhaps one should translate as 'Christian barbarians', 'Christian pagans'. They are said to be the survivors of the Greeks (*baḳīyat al-Yūnān*) mentioned by Abu 'l-Fidā' in his *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*. The population consisted of about 20,000 persons (*ādami*) who have owned it from ancient times.

'In our time', says Ibn Mādjīd, 'Amr b. 'Afrār and the Banū 'Abd al-Nabī al-Salaimānī [*sic*] al-Ḥimyarī, both of the Mashāyikh al-Mahrah, built a fort (*ḥiṣār*) there, and governed over (*ḥakam*) some of its inhabitants [probably in the sense of arbitrating in their disputes], imposing unpaid labour on them (*sakharū-hum*), taking from each man a maund of ghee, and from each woman a rug (*shamlah*) of the weave of the country.' These rugs of distinctive manufacture are still woven, and I possess several. They are known as *Suḳuṭrāwī*, and consist of several strips about 7 in. wide and over 6 ft. in length, sewn together. The colours are usually blacks and browns. The author continues: 'They killed Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Afrār who ruled over them after the death of his father. So his paternal uncles (*a'mām*) and tribe came, took revenge for him, brought them under restraint (*sakharū-hum*), and set b. 'Abd al-Nabī to rule over them. Consequently they say that it (Socotra) is bad luck to (*shūm 'alā*) him who rules it. They are a native people (*ḥawm waḩanīyūn*) who, when a stranger comes to them, set before him water and provisions, and they set before him their cloth (? *thiyāb*) and their women. Ruling over them (*ḥākimah*) is a woman, and as for marriage among them, it is in the hands of the priest (*ḥasis*) of the Christians who dwell (plural) in the churches (*kanā'is*); they manage them according to the advice of that woman, but in our time her power has ended and become weak.'

The offering of women to the stranger may be another instance of the custom of *tawrid*, well known in southern Arabia, and described by one traveller as even the practice at al-Shiḥr.

The Mahrah seem to have been interested in Socotra because of their

¹ *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 70a-b.

² Shumovsky, op. cit., fol. 94a. Cf. Ulughkhānī, op. cit., Appendix I, p. 34.

fear of the Kathīrī Sultāns of Ḥaḍramawt. Ibn Mādjīd states explicitly that Socotra was in Mahrī hands in 894 H. (A.D. 1488-9). Under the annals for the year 915 H. (A.D. 1509-10) Shanbal records that 'Shaikh al-zaiy al-Ṭaw'arī wa-'l-Zuwaidī' died at Qishn. The word *zaiy* means a tribal confederation. It might be the son of this shaikh who was killed by the Portuguese, and other sons who raided Socotra in 916 H. (A.D. 1510-11) as described *supra* (p. 46). Portuguese sources name the Arab captain of the garrison of Socotra in 1507 as Khawādjah Ibrāhīm.

The Portuguese fort on Socotra was only a rebuilding of the Mahrī fort captured in 1507. This must have been constructed earlier than 1481, since Barros says the island had been under the rule of the Sultān of Qishn for twenty-six years when the Portuguese conquered it. This fort was about a cross-bow shot, i.e. some 400 yards, from the harbour. It was on level ground adjoining a hill, and beside *the* (not *a*) town of the Socotrans. It was on a cape called Coto, i.e. Soto, by Góis, and Coco, i.e. Koso, by Castanheda. These are probably corruptions of the Soco of Barros which he gives as the name of the town, and as a synonym for Calancea, the Kalenzia of the Bents.¹ Soco or Zoco are the usual Spanish and Portuguese forms of *sūḵ*.² The bay upon which the town stood is called Beni by Barros, but he also gives this name to another port which he says is farther to the East. (C. F. B.)

We also know, however, from Ibn al-Mudjāwir that there was a town called al-Sūḵ in Socotra and it is described by him.³ Dom Joam de Castro's *Routier*⁴ states in fact that the Portuguese fort is at O Çoquo, his account relating to the year 1541, and his illustration of the fort is reproduced here (Pl. 12). Soco is then the Sūḵ shown not only on the Bents' map as east of Hadibo, but on the maps of W. Tomaschek and M. Bittner,⁵ though their maps locate certain places on the Ḥaḍramī coast incorrectly. The Bents⁶ report ruins popularly ascribed to the Portuguese at Kadhoup, and a fort on a conical hill behind Tamarida (Hadibo) called Hasan, of which they say: 'These ruins have also been called Portuguese but they looked to us more Arabic in character.' These sites are at some distance from Kalenzia. Sūḵ is 2 miles east of Hadibo. I am indebted to Peter Shinnie, Professor of Archaeology at Achimota, for supplying me with a ground plan of the fort he excavated at Sūḵ (Fig. 2). It produced Islāmic glazed pottery and some bits of Chinese, 'all of which could, I imagine, be of sixteenth-century date'.

¹ J. T. Bent, *Southern Arabia* (London, 1900), p. 346.

² As Socodover in Toledo.

³ *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, ii. 267.

⁴ Trans. A. Kammerer (Paris, 1936), p. 35 and pl. vi. See also his footnote on p. 37. Cf. Danvers, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 57, 265.

⁵ *Die topographischen Capitel des indischen Seespiegels Moḥiṭ* (Wien, 1897), Taf. XI.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 357 and 363.

TAVOA.DA AGVADA.



The Portuguese expedition of 1541-2 before al-Sūk, the anchorage on
same site lies amid palm trees

British Museum,

DOXEQVE.



the north side of Socotra. The Portuguese fort or a later construction on the
on the left. (Cf. pp. 43, 46, 98 seq., 158)
Cotton MS. Tiberius, D ix)

The plan of the fort with its round tower at each corner is reminiscent of that of Yāfi'i forts of the type well known in Ḥaḍramawt, and illustrated by L. W. C. Van den Berg.¹ Though this fort may be that which the Portuguese constructed, there can hardly be any traces of Portuguese work, for the notice from Shanbal (*supra*) under the events of the year 917 H. (A.D. 1511-12) indicated that the Mahrah rebuilt a

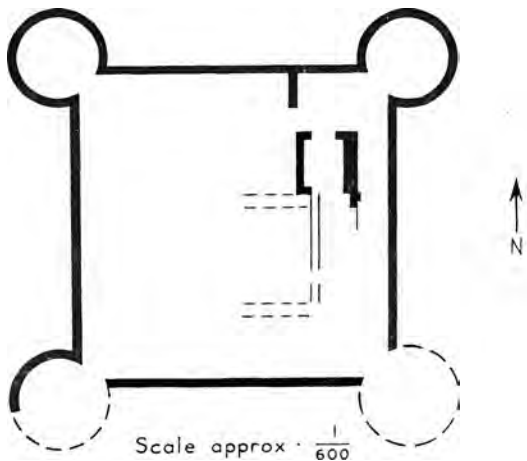


FIG. 2. Ground plan of the fort at al-Sūk, Socotra Island.

fort in Socotra after the departure of the Portuguese. May one therefore infer that they entirely dismantled their fort? Professor Shinnie has generously supplied me with the photographs of another fort at Feragey, the sole preserved ruin he saw during the visit of the Oxford Expedition, except the Mahri fort in Hadibo itself. There is no proof that the Feragey fort is Portuguese, and perhaps, as it lies several miles from the coast in a wādī running south from the Haghier Mountains, it was only founded for Mahri internal security. The picture gives me the impression of the type of foundation one would see in Ḥaḍramawt for an adobe fort or house.

To the foregoing the commentary of a later traveller may be added. The 'Voyage de Henri Hagenaar aux Indes Orientales',² speaking of the Socotra forts in 1633, says: 'Il y avait au bord du rivage 3. canons de fonte, sur de vieux afûts tout-usez, ou l'on voioit les armes de Portugal. Ils les avoient pêchez du bris d'une carraque qui avoit là fait naufrage. Ils sont ennemis des Portugais.'

¹ *Le Ḥaḍhramout et les colonies arabes* (Batavia, 1886), frontispiece. See also Pl. 11 for an illustration of such a fort, for which I am indebted to Dr. A. A. Bake.

² In *Recueil des Voyages . . . de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales* (Amsterdam, 1754), p. 294.

APPENDIX VI

THE MAMELUKE FORTIFICATIONS AT JEDDAH

GASPAR CORREA, *Lendas da India* (ii. 494), shows an excellent view of Jeddah which tallies well with a description (*infra*) from the *Husn al-Ḳirā fī Awdiyat Umm al-Ḳurā*, described in 'Two Sixteenth-century Arabian Geographical Works', *B.S.O.A.S.* (London, 1958), xxi, ii. 255-76.

According to the latter, Jeddah had been fortified by al-Ḥusāmī Ḥusain al-Kurdī in 912 H. (A.D. 1506-7), at the command of the last of the 'Djarākisah kings', Kānshūh al-Ghawrī, and the author says (fol. 9a-b) in description of its wall:

'Its construction took place in the shortest (possible) time. It is four-sided (*murabba'*), compassing the town on its three (landward) sides, but not on the sea-front (*djihah*). On the Yemenite side its length is 800 cubits (*dhirā'*), according to the *dhirā' al-'amal* employed nowadays, which is a cubit and a third according to the Egyptian iron cubit (*bi-dhirā' al-ḥadid al-Miṣri*). On the east side facing the Ḳiblah, up to the side (*djihah*) of the Yamānī Gate, it is 600 cubits according to the *dhirā' al-'amal*; from the side (*djihah*) of the Shamālī (Northern) Gate, up to its (the wall's) corner—the same; between both of the two gates (*ba'in kull-in min al-bābain*) are 20 cubits according to the *dhirā' al-'amal*. On the side of al-Shām (Syria) it is also 800 cubits.

'On each side there are two towers—a tower in the sea on the Yemen side, a tower facing it on the east (*ḳiblah*) side of it, a tower on the right of a person going out of the Yamānī Gate, a tower on the left of a person going out of the Shāmī Gate, a tower on the side of al-Shām, and opposite a tower also on the sea side, the total coming to 6 towers.

'The height of each of these towers from the ground is 15 cubits according to the (*dhirā'*) *al-'amal*, including the merlons (*sharārif*) (S. *shurrāfah*) above it, the height of each merlon being 2 cubits, its breadth a cubit and a sixth, and its thickness a cubit; (the space) between each merlon and the next is a cubit and a sixth. Every tower has 21 merlons, each of which is a single piece of hewn (*manḥūt*) masonry.

'The breadth of the rampart (*djidār*) of the wall construction is 3 cubits according to the (*dhirā'*) *al-'amal*, and its elevation 10 cubits in height.

'The breadth of the town (*balad*) on the sea side is 1,400 cubits.

'In the breast (*ṣadr*) of the two . . . (lacuna) *ḳiblah* towers (*al-burdjain al-ḳiblatain*) is a mighty rampart (*djidār*) in which are gun-emplacements (? *marāmi li-'l-bārūd*, perhaps embrasures) for those who intend to fight

with it (*li-man yaḡṣud al-ḥarb bi-hā*—a phrase the exact sense of which remains uncertain to me).

'The elevation of each gate is 9 cubits according to the *dhirā' al-'amal*. In the upper part of each gate is a parapet (*shurāfah*), embrasures (*tākāt*), and gun-emplacements (*marāmi*) for war. It (the gate) is of sheathed wood (reading—*khashab mudjarrā*), plated (*muṣaffah*) with iron, to the thickness of a third of a cubit according to the *dhirā' al-'amal*. As (indeed) all of which I have seen and written down on the authority of a source relied upon by everyone who walks, and there, let there be praise to God' (the last phrase in *sadj'*).

'Then after the above date the wall (*sūr*) of Jeddah was added to several times, one of such occasions being in the year 917 H. (A.D. 1511–12) when the Bāsh of Mecca¹ Khābir² Bak al-'Ammār al-Djarkasī built a seventh tower in the middle of the sea-(front), and linked the Jeddah wall with it from the Yemen side.

'Then in the year 920 H. (A.D. 1514–15) the *nā'ib* of Jeddah, al-Husāmī Husain al-Kurdī, built an eighth tower on the Syrian side (*fi djiḥat al-Shām*) next to which he placed a large gate to the landward side (*li-djiḥat al-barr*). He built up the old port (*furḍah*) with the houses situated round about it, encircling it (? them) with a wall and towers containing (therein) a number of dwellings and two large courts (*hawsh*) at which the cargoes arriving by sea in Indian and other vessels (could) be discharged and displayed between two large platforms (*dakkah*) upon which the *nā'ib* of Jeddah, his inspector (*nāẓir*), and the surveyors (*mubāshir*) could sit to collect the duty (*mu'ashshar*) on what arrived there from India and elsewhere, for the Sulṭān of Egypt.³

'He garrisoned (*ḥaras*) the towers and packed them with engines of war, consisting of large guns (*madāfi'*) and small *sabḡiyahs*.⁴ Much benefit was derived from these when the abandoned Frank appeared in the year (9)22 H. (A.D. 1516–17). He augmented its fortification (*taḥṣīn*) along with the preservation of a number of towers in its walls (the text is not quite clear to me here) in the days of the dynasty of the Kings of the Age, the *crème de la crème*, the Monarchs of the Banū 'Uthmān.'

According to Ibn Iyās,⁵ news arrived in Egypt in the year 912 H.

¹ For this office cf. P. Kahle and M. Mustafa, *Die Chronik des Ibn Ijās* (Istanbul, 1936), iii. 303, &c., and iv. 455, Bāsh al-Mudjāwirīn bi-Makkah.

² Perhaps to be read as 'Khāyir', a name which occurs in the index to Ibn Iyās (op. cit., v. 305), Khāyir Bak al-Mi'mār al-'Alāi. Cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka* (Leipzig, 1858), iii. 338, Nahrāwālī, who has Khair Bīk al-Mi'mār.

³ Cf. P. Kahle and M. Mustafa, op. cit., iii. 315, for *al-maḡ'ad bi-l-ḥawsh*.

⁴ The text has *sab'iyah*, but I am amending it after D. Ayalon, op. cit., pp. 92 and 119, where he states that *sabḡiyāt* are invariably mentioned with fire-arms though he is unable to say as yet precisely what they are.

⁵ P. Kahle and M. Mustafa, op. cit., v. 109.

(A.D. 1506-7) of the Franks and their depredations in the Indian Ocean, as also that Husain Bāsh al-ʿAskar had begun to build towers on the coast of Jeddah. They had also dispatched (*djahhazū*) ships to Aden. However, the Frankish ships followed one after the other till there were over twenty Frankish vessels in the Hejaz sea which played hell (*ʿabatha*) with the ships of the Indian merchants, cutting their routes in dangerous places and seizing their cargoes, until muslins and fūṭahs (*al-shāshāt wa-l-uzur*) became scarce in Egypt and other countries.¹

The cubit described as the *dhirāʿ al-ʿamal* is known to al-Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, edit. Mustafa Ziada (Cairo, 1934-9), I. iii. 907; Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* (Cairo, 1913-19), iii. 446. Cf. W. Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans*, pp. 34 and 35. Ibn ʿIyās states that the cubit known as *dhirāʿ al-ḥadīd* is 5 *ḳirāṭs* more than the *dhirāʿ al-Hāshimī*. W. Hinz, 'Islamische Masse und Gewichte', in B. Spuler, *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Ergänzungsband (Göttingen, 1955), I. i. 58, estimates the *dhirāʿ al-ḥadīd* at 58.187 cm., and (p. 55) the *dhirāʿ al-ʿamal* at 66.5 cm. From Correa and the sources cited here it should be possible to construct a fairly exact model of the fortifications which the Portuguese saw on their arrival before Jeddah.

¹ There is a brief allusion to the fortification of Jeddah in Ibn ʿIyās, op. cit. iv, pp. 95, 109, and the dispatch of Egyptian artificers in 912 H. (A.D. 1506-7). Cf. Silvestre de Sacy, *La Foudre du Yémen . . .*, iv. 421, discussing the work done to the wall in 917 H. (A.D. 1511-12); *al-Sanāʿ al-Bāhir*, Brit. Mus. MS., fol. 224a.

APPENDIX VII

PORTUGUESE INSCRIPTIONS FROM MIRANI FORT, MUSCAT

My friend Professor A. M. Honeyman has courteously placed at my disposal these materials which he collected on a passing visit to Muscat in 1957. The photographs published here were taken by Mr. Ray Cleveland of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. The first three inscriptions are copied from Mirānī Fort, Muscat town, and the fourth, through the kindness of the Consul, Major Chauncy, from H.B.M.'s Consulate-General there.

Inscription no. 1 (Pl. 13a)

Portuguese inscription, located over the inner arched gateway of Kal'at Mirānī, upon two stones nearly equal in size.¹

1. REINAODO HO MV ALTO HE POED
2. ROZO. F. PRIMEIRO DESTE NOME R
3. HE. S. NOSONHOVTAVO ANO DE
4. SEV REINADO NA CROA DE PORTV
5. GAL MANDOV POR DON DVARTE DE M
6. ENEZES SEV VIZOR DA INDIA QE SE FI
7. ZESE ESTA FORTALEZA A QAL FES BELCHIOR
8. ALV S PRIMEIRO CAPITAO E FVNDADOR 1588

The inscription was submitted to the Portuguese Academy of History which has supplied the following rendering into modern Portuguese:

1. Reinando o mui alto e pod-
2. eroso Filipe primeiro deste nome r
3. ei e senhor nosso no oitavo ano de
4. seu reinado na coroa de Portu-
5. gal mandou por Dom Duarte de M-
6. eneses seu vice-rei da India que se fi-
7. zesse esta fortaleza a qual fez Belchior
8. Alvares primeiro capitao e fundador. 1588

This may be translated into English as:

'In the reign of the very high and mighty Philip, first of this name, our sacred king, in the eighth year of his reign in the crown of Portugal, he ordered through Dom Duarte de Menezes his viceroy in India that

¹ Measurements: height of gateway, 2.57 m.; width, 1.79 m.; overall height of inscription, 81 cm.; overall width, 75 cm. (left stone), 74 cm. (right stone); average height of letters, 8.3 cm. Some signs and ligatures are uncertain.

this fortress should be built, which Belchior Alvares built, the first captain and founder, 1588.'

Ḳal'at Mirānī, as this fort is now called, was known to the Portuguese as Fort Capitan, and lies on the western side of the town of Muscat. The building of the fortress was commenced by Dom João da Lisboa about 1552, and it was expressly for this purpose that he had been sent out from Portugal. When the town was attacked and taken by Piri Ra'is, the Turks dismantled the fortress and it was left derelict. When 'Alī Bey, about 1581, raided and pillaged Muscat town, the government at Lisbon realized that measures must be taken to strengthen the defences, but in its dilatory way it let several years slip by before it would sanction the erection of the forts, and it was not until 1586 that the Viceroy was entrusted with the order to build them. Dom Duarte de Meneses seems to have laid down the plans, though it must have been in the final year of his commission that this stone was carved. By this time Portugal had been brought under the domination of Spain by Philip II, whose name also figures in the inscription.

The fort on the eastern flank of Muscat, now called Kal'at Djalālī, formerly bore the name of San João.¹

Inscription no. 2

Latin inscription, over the exterior of an arched window, now filled up and plastered over, on the south-east wall of the circular chapel² on top of Fort Mirani.³

AVE MA GRA. SA PLA DO.S. TECV

Ave Maria gratia sancta plena Dominus tecum.

Inscription no. 3 (Pl. 13b)

Portuguese inscription built into the south-east wall of the lower rear court on the harbour side of Fort Mirani.⁴

I. FESME: ESPERIEMSI

¹ S. B. Miles, *Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf* (London, 1920), i. 182.

² The main door of the chapel is on the south-west side, with the smaller door on the north-west.

³ Measurements: height of window, 98 cm. max.; width, 66 cm.; height of letters, 7.6 cm. average.

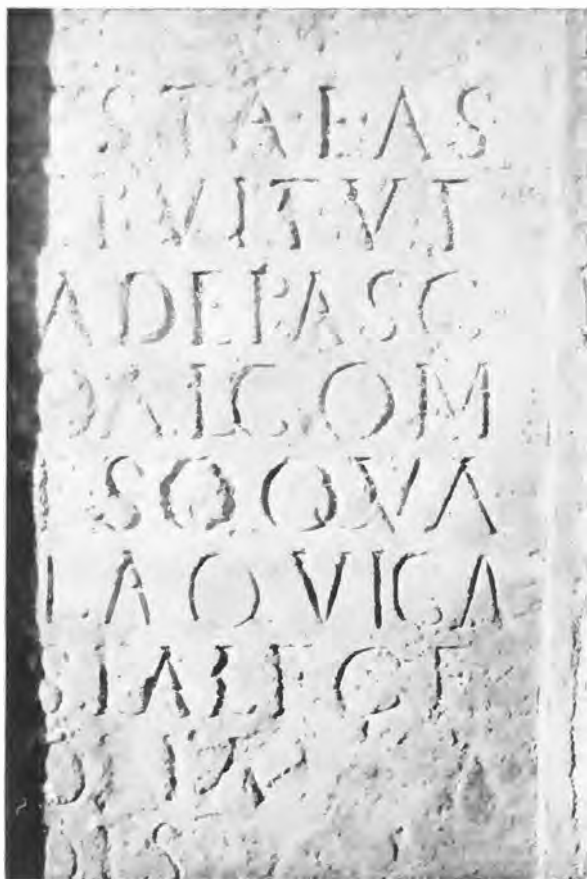
⁴ Measurements: height of inscription, 69 cm. (including margins); width, 79 cm. (including margins); height of letters, c. 5 cm. Lines 1-4 as far as the end of MEDEEENDE are set back to a lower surface than the rest of the inscription. Professor Honeyman remarks, 'Has the first part of the inscription been re-carved?' The photograph seems to show that the lettering of the upper part has been crushed into a space slightly too small for it. One wonders if the inscription may have been deliberately altered after Portugal became independent of Spain again in 1640.



a. Portuguese inscription no. 1, dated 1588, over the inner gateway of Merani Fort, Muscat (cf. p. 163)



b. Portuguese inscription no. 3, dated 1610, in the wall of the sea-level bastion at Merani Fort, Muscat (cf. pp. 164-5)



Portuguese inscription no. 4, set in the wall of the British
Consulate, Muscat (cf. p. 165)

2. A : ZELO : EVERDADE : PAR
3. A : DEFENSAÔ : DACRVS : Q̄ (?)
4. MEDEFEEENDE. PORMAN
5. DADO : DOMVI : ALTO : E
6. PODEROZO : REI : DOM
7. FELIPE : TERCEIRO : DE
8. STE : NOME : NOANNO
9. DE 1610

'Experience, zeal and truth built me for the defence of the cross which defends me, on the order of the very high and powerful king Don Philip, third of this name, in the year 1610.'

Mr. B. Dutton comments on this that after CRVS there is what appears to be a rough letter which could be read as Q̄, i.e. *que*, and MEDEFEEENDE can only be *me defende*, a mistake easily made if the mason did not know Portuguese. From this point onwards the inscription is in different lettering from the first part. The awkward insertion of Q̄ after CRVS and the small closer lettering of the recut upper part of the inscription seem to indicate, in fact, that an alteration was effected in the inscription. My only suggestion is that, as Philip III was a Spaniard, he might have sent a Spaniard as captain of the fortress, and the Portuguese commander after 1640, disliking his probably proud inscription, changed the first part. What suggests this to me is that in the 1588 inscription, Philip II of Spain is styled Philip I of Portugal, but Philip III of Spain, his successor, is so styled in this inscription, without reference to his being Philip II of Portugal.

Inscription no. 4 (Pl. 14)

This inscription is built into the west wall of the Consulate Compound. It is somewhat decayed and in part plastered over.¹

1. ESTA. E. AS
2. EPVLTVR
3. A DE PAS
4. O/QAL COM
5. ESOQVA
6. LA QVICA
7. SEAIFF/ECE
8. O A[
9. DIS[

¹ Measurements: height, 176 cm.; width (of visible surface), 66 cm.; height of letters, 8·1–8·9 cm. Line 6 has been plastered over and the lettering may accordingly be regarded as a restoration.

1. This is
 2. the grave
 - 3-5. of Pascoal Comes
 - 5-6. who here
- Remainder unintelligible.

Mr. Dutton proposes that the Portuguese might read 'Pascoal Comes o qval aqvi'.

NOTES

Note A, p. 25. Cf. *The Saiyids of Ḥaḍramawt* (London, 1957) for their distribution. In Lamu I heard the interesting saying, *Lāmū lāmu 'n-nās, Lāmū* (they blamed the people). This nickname is said to have arisen because seamen and mariners staying there spent all their money on the lovely girls and when beggared, they had no money to go away. These girls were said to be descendants of Portuguese women taken captive by the Arabs. For the many Ḥaḍramī families of Lamu, see 'Aidarūs b. 'Alī al-'Aidarūs al-Nuḍairī, *Bughyat al-Āmāl fī Tārīkh al-Ṣawmāl* (Mogadiscio, 1955). Mahri emigrants are described by E. Cerulli, 'Un gruppo Mahri nella Somalia Italiana', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (Roma, 1926-8), xi. 25-26. A slave of Yāfi' is mentioned in Abyssinia by the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabashah*, edit. R. Basset.

Note B, p. 27. The Portuguese, especially Albuquerque, swiftly perceived the importance, economically and politically, of cornering the trade to India in Arabian horses. Cf. *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 50b, a reference to the author's *Ḳaṣīdat al-Khail* giving the *ḵiyās marākib al-khail min barr al-'Arab li-Mulaibār*, and, *ibid.* i, fol. 39b, for the purchase of the Dawābilah (Daibulis) of an Egyptian horse at Jedda for 500 ashrafis. 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir, *Djany al-Shamārikh* (Aden, 1369 H.), p. 31, states that Zufār was a centre of the horse trade on account of the great quantity of suitable fodder there, since the rain falls there for three months as in India. From al-Hind wa-'l-Sind the trade fleets (*mawāsīm*) come here each year to purchase horses, and the price of a single *rās* used to reach 100 or 200 (ashrafis?). At the time of Badr b. 'Abdullāh al-Kathīrī there was a ban (*tahrīdīj*) on the trade in horses, olibanum-incense (*lubān*), and fish-oil (*ṣīfah*). The ban on the two latter was lifted, but not that on horses. This horse-coping had provided cash for agricultural operations which, the writer avers, were ruined when the horse trade ceased. The Ḥaḍramī *Manāḵib Bā 'Abbād* mentions a horse from Markhah taken to be sold in al-Shiḥr. Cf. *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 145a, 'the horse season, *mūsīm al-khail*'.

Note C, p. 28. Aḥmad b. Ḥaḍjar al-Haitamī, *al-Fatāwā al-Kubrā al-Fiḵḥiyah* (Cairo, 1938), i. 256, was asked concerning 'what had befallen the people of the village of Burūm, namely that for a long time they had been staying in Burūm most of their year, i.e. about three-quarters of the year, then, during the rest of the year they would remove from it to another village called al-Ḥadjlāh, remaining there the rest of the year for fear of the danger of the Frank (*maḥdhūr al-Ifrandj*) at the time when their coming out from the land of India was expected'. This custom seems to have continued for a long period, estimated at over twenty years when Ibn Ḥaḍjar was asked for his opinion, to such an extent that they had built *dārs* (tower-houses) at al-Ḥadjlāh and even made it their home for part of the year. Ibn Ḥaḍjar was asked for a *fatwā* (legal opinion) as to where

the Friday prayer should be held if they are in residence at al-Hadjlah, for it seems they had been returning on Fridays to hold it in Burūm. Perhaps this incident is the subject of another *fatwā* (iii. 291) where reference is made to the abandoning of a village (*dai'ah*) part of the year from fear of the Franks. I passed through al-Hadjlah in 1964.

Note D, p. 39. *Arabische Texte*, introd. p. 14. The Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 16648, fol. 327b f., i.e. *al-Sanā' al-Bāhir*, contains a very full biography and even quotations from his works which, though numerous, seem, without exception, unknown to Brockelmann. Though these are listed no historical work is cited, unless the extracts in Bā Faḳīh al-Shihri are drawn from his biographical treatise. At present it is impossible to say whether these are drawn from a separate history unknown to his contemporaries or from perhaps the *Rashf al-Zulāl al-Rawī fi 'l-Takmil wa-'l-Tadhyil 'alā Ṭabaḳāt al-Asnawī*. 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir, *Djany al-Shamāriḳh*, p. 30, says that the Dhail to the *Ṭabaḳāt* of al-Asnawī is now no longer extant, but the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo has a MS. (no. 2657), *Tarādjim Fuḳahā' Ḥaḍramawt min al-Ḳarn al-'Āshir*, taken from the Kitāb 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar Makhramah al-Ḥaḍramī alladhī atamma bi-hā Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfi'iyah li-'l-Asnawī, and from *al-Durr al-Fāḳhir fi Tarādjim Aḥwāl al-Ḳarn al-'Āshir* of Muḥ. b. Sirādj Djammāl. Bā Faḳīh al-Shihri (fol. 75a) alludes to his *مسودة*, or rough draft. From the epitome of his *Fatāwā* we learn that he is 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm Makhramah al-Saibānī al-Djūhī, though *al-Sanā' al-Bāhir* gives the names after Aḥmad simply as Bā Makhramah Abu 'l-Ṭaiyib. The Bā Makhramah section of the Bā Wazīr Mashāyikh is said to have founded the village of Ghail Bā Wazīr. He was born at al-Shihri, and then, under his father's tutelage (*taht nazar wālidi-hi*), he studied there, in Ḥaḍramawt, and in Aden. He is said to have had an excellent knowledge of medicine and history (*atḳan 'ilm al-ṭibb wa-'l-tawāriḳh*). He was twice *ḳādī* of al-Shihri, in 943 H. (A.D. 1536-7) and 954 H. (A.D. 1547-8), the first occasion for a brief interlude only, the second for five months, but his fame was so great that from such places as al-Hind, al-Sawāḥil, Munaibār, Āshī (Atcheh), 'Umān and Hurmūz, *fatwās* on many questions were sought of him. During the course of this monograph I have occasion to quote from his *Fatāwā* on various issues. Two collections are mentioned (cf. p. 28, n. 3), *al-Fatāwā al-Ṣuḡhrā wa-'l-Kubrā*. Amongst his other works is an essay on coffee. He was a sort of state secretary to Sulṭān Badr, of al-Shihri, on whose behalf he used to write *al-rasā'il*, letters, and *djawābāt*, answers to the Sulṭāns of the Banū 'Uthmān (Ottomans) and their Bāshāt. At Aden, to which he went once more in 960 H. (A.D. 1553), he was esteemed by the Pashas (*muḥtaram 'ind Bāshāt al-Arwām bi-'l-Yaman wa-wuzarā' i-him*) of the Turks in the Yemen and their ministers. All this shows that he was in an excellent position to be *au courant* with political affairs. He composed panegyrics on Sulṭān Badr. b. 'Abdullāh, i.e. Badr Bū Ṭuwairiḳ, and also on the Lord of Maifa'ah, Abu 'l-Makārim b. Siddah—whose other names are variously written by different authorities. He even seems to have acted as

an intermediary between the Maifa'ah Sultān and Badr, while he was with Abu 'l-Makārim. He played an important part in the life of al-Shihr. The *Tārīkh al-Shu'arā' al-Ḥaḍramīyīn*, i, pp. 157-66, gives a biography, probably mainly based on *al-Sanā' al-Bāhir*.

Note E, p. 41. Vasco da Gama did not call at Mogadisho until his return voyage. Crossing the Indian Ocean from Anjadiva, he arrived at Mogadisho on 2 January 1499. He did not visit in India any place remotely resembling the name Sabādj. This may be connected with the mysterious name or title 'Sabaio', given by early Portuguese writers to Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur, no satisfactory explanation of which is known. (*C.F.B.*) Cf. F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* (London, 1894), i. 61, Sabayo, king of Goa (i.e. 'Ādil Shāh), and (ii. 404) the fortress of Sabajo, near Goa. Djīm is very generally pronounced *y* in Ḥaḍramawt, so one could transliterate the name as Sabāy. Shanbal's Sabādj might be read Wasādj (Bassein), a name figuring in Bā Faḳīh al-Shihrī's entry for 941 H. This is less likely and Bassein was not visited by da Gama.

Note F, p. 47. This is Albuquerque's famous attack on Aden, on 26 March 1513. Góis, iii. 43, also says there were twenty ships in the Portuguese fleet, others say twenty-four. Special ladders were brought from Cochin wide enough to allow six men to climb abreast, but they broke under the weight. The casualty figures are interesting. Whiteway, a good authority, says (op. cit., p. 155) 'the total number of killed is nowhere recorded'. According to the Portuguese accounts those who succeeded in getting into the city did so either by mounting to the top of the wall before the ladders broke, or through two low gun-embrasures. Albuquerque stayed at Kamarān for seven days to water and victual the fleet, then sailed for Jeddah, was driven back by contrary winds, and returned to Kamarān, where the fleet remained from the end of May till the middle of July. (*C.F.B.*)

Cf. H. T. Norris and F. W. Penhey, 'The Historical Development of Aden's Defences', *Geographical Journal* (London, 1955), cxxi. i. 11-20, for a discussion of the Portuguese attack on Aden with prints and some references to Arabic sources. The authors examined the site of the old fortifications, but of course it is impossible to see the site of the old wall which is probably covered with buildings, while no doubt the foreshore has been pushed forward by reclamation under the British. For the shipping which includes galleys see Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da Índia* (Lisboa, 1858-64), ii. 342, a very well-known illustration. There is also an account of the Portuguese siege in the *Rawḥ al-Rūḥ* of 'Isā b. Luṭf Allāh al-Muṭahhar, Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 4583, fol. 13a (cf. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Berlin, 1898-1902), *Gal.* ii. 402, *Sup.* ii. 550) with no new information.

Note G, p. 47. Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabsir*, edit. O. Löfgren (Leiden, 1951), i. 138, refers to Djabal al-Akhḍar and al-Ḥuṣn al-Akhḍar opposite Širah Is.; on p. 128 it is called Ḥuṣn al-Khaḍrā'. This hill was originally called سبیرنبیه, which al-Shihrī calls شرشره. C. v. Landberg, *Daḥināh* (Leiden, 1905-9), pp. 1324 ff., states that he had never heard of

this place, nor have I heard of Sharsharah though I have questioned Adenese on this point. The vocalization of the name is purely conjectural; it looks as if the name had been forgotten. There is a description of Aden and its gates in Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *op. cit.*, p. 128, and in other sources. According to the *Kalā'id al-Djumān* of Muḥammad 'Abd al-Madjīd (Cawnpore, 1329 H., A.D. 1911), p. 90, the Franks are said to have burned 'al-Bughdat al-Kabīrah wa-'l-Bughdat al-Ṣaghīrah', which in the Aden Education Department's *Djughrāfiyat 'Adan wa-Bilād al-'Arab* (Aden, 1932), p. 41, are shown on the map as the tunnels leading to the mainland. An Adenese informed me that this tunnel is known as al-Bughdat al-Ṭawīlah while Main Pass is known as al-Bughdat al-Ḳaṣīrah. The late fourth/tenth-century geographer al-Maḳdisī, *ed.* M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (Leiden, 1906), iii. 85, refers to a tunnel leading to the land closed by an iron door. Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, v. 11, quoting an earlier source, says that the mountain surrounding it is pierced in two places through which alone the inhabitants may come and go. It is difficult to believe there is any substance in the modern Aden writer's statement, though in other respects the author seems to rely on known sources. Cf. E. Rehatsek, 'Brief Notice of Two Arabic MSS. on the History of the Yemen', *Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society* (Bombay, 1877-8), xiii. 317-24, for 'Īsā b. Luṭf Allāh's account of the siege of Aden, though Rehatsek has not understood the text well.

Note H, p. 51. This is the expedition of Lopo Soares de Albergaria who succeeded Albuquerque as Governor. According to Castanheda, iv. 10, he had 36 ships—15 *naos*, 10 *navios* and *caravelas*, 8 galleys, 1 *caravelão*, 1 *bargantin*, and 1 (Indian) junk.

The Emir Ḥusain and Salmān Ra'is had attacked Aden without success in 1516. When Lopo Soares arrived the city offered him the keys, but he refused and went on to Jeddah. It is true that none of the Portuguese landed there; their accounts say their ships were held off by the power of the shore batteries which commanded the approaches. They say nothing about Salmān coming out in a ship to attack them. They burned a *galeão* and one or two galleys that were in the channel (Barros, III. i. 4; Castanheda, iv. 12). The explosion in the grab is perhaps to be identified with an incident mentioned by Barros, III. i. 5. When the Portuguese were leaving a galley came out and fired a basilisk at them with such force that the galley turned over till the Portuguese could see her keel.

The capture of the Franks near Loheia is also in Barros. Lopo Soares actually went to Kamarān and was there becalmed for about three months. He sent a brigantine to buy food on the Arabian shore. Two *djalababs* were sent from Jeddah and conspired with the local Arabs to capture the brigantine and her crew. Seventeen men were taken and sent to Constantinople, but one later escaped and returned to Portugal to tell the story. Lopo Soares was able to purchase some provisions at Aden and go on to Hurmuz. (*C. F. B.*)

Note I, p. 52. This is the expedition of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira. Góis,

iv. 45, gives the composition of the Portuguese fleet as 26 sail, comprising 11 large ships (*naos*), 2 galleons, 5 galleys, 4 square-rigged ships, 2 brigantines, and 2 caravels. (Some of the foregoing are only dictionary translations.)

The 'very large galliot' seems to be what Barros, III. iii. 10, calls *um bargantim pera recados* (a brigantine for provisions and equipment).

They did not land at al-ʿĀrah, but the *San Antonio* struck a reef there (Castanheda, v. 23, and F. Alvarez, *Verdadeira Informação* . . . (Lisboa, 1889), p. 5). Presents intended for the Emperor of Abyssinia were lost with this vessel, which caused the envoys trouble and embarrassment when they reached the Abyssinian court. De Sequeira had been ordered to sail to Jeddah, but abandoned the attempt on account of contrary winds, and the Portuguese then stood across to Massawa. After leaving Massawa they burnt what there was to be found on Dahlak. The reference to this expedition's call at Aden seems to be due to confusion with the visit of its predecessor under Lopo Soares in A.D. 1517 (923 H.), for Diogo Lopes de Sequeira did not visit Aden. (C. F. B.)

Note J, p. 53. The Mukallā MS. reads *al-rumāh al-ʿaskar*. The unidentified Saiwūn MS. repeats a statement by the *Rawḥ al-Rūḥ* (18a-b) and other Yemenite histories that the *bunduḳ* (musket) first appeared in the Yemen in 922 H. (A.D. 1516). Muḥ. b. Hāshim, op. cit., p. 37, states that the *bunduḳ* only came to Ḥaḍramawt with the ʿTurks (al-Rūm) and that *al-banādīḳ al-ʿlūḳ* (whatever these are) were called *banādīḳ al-Rūm*; he adds that these were muskets of the type known as *abū fatīlah*, matchlocks, quoting no sources for these statements. I may be mistaken in rendering *rumāh* here as musketeers, for the *rumāh* even before this date are often mentioned separately in such chronicles as Shanbal's *Tārīkh* as if they were a special corps of archers. As they are not mentioned by name in the casualty lists of battles chronicled by Shanbal I have wondered if they might not be crossbow-men, possibly foreign mercenaries employed by the Ḥaḍramī Sultāns.

Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Fatāwā*, ii. 26, mentions the use of both bows and muskets. They may have continued to be used together after this, for a *mufākharah* between the bow (*ḥaws*) and the *bunduḳ* composed by a South Arabian writer is cited by Brock., *Gal.* ii. 399, as written before A.D. 1699.

Note K, p. 53. This is the attack by Dom Luis de Menezes, brother of the Governor of India, D. Duarte. He sailed with nine ships, but one was wrecked at Socotra. Barros, III. ix. 7, reports that there were six or seven Portuguese in a trading vessel at al-Shiḥr who told Dom Luis that a Portuguese called Afonso da Veiga had died there four or five months previously, and the 'king' had seized his goods. Luis refused the refreshments sent by the inhabitants and demanded this property. They said the king had gone inland and they would reply when he came. Luis then said that if they did not send the deceased man's goods to him he would come and take them. Attacking with 400 men he met little resistance, sacked the

town, but left in haste for the Red Sea because of the weather. As the Portuguese sailed away they saw the king with a large army.

Castanheda, vi. 23, also refers to this attack. Of 'Xael' (al-Shiḥr) he says : 'It is a big town, plentifully and abundantly supplied with all the fruits there are in Spain : it is a place of great trade, because there are many horses and much incense there, taken by the Moors of Malabar and Cambaya who take their goods there to sell. At this place ships winter which are going to the Red Sea and cannot pass through (Bāb al-Mandab) because it is too late and the westerlies blow against them, and Dom Luis decided to attack this town because it was subject to the king of Adem.' Castanheda says nothing of Portuguese merchants there or of the dead Portuguese's goods, but states that the people fled taking most of their property with them, so Dom Luis could do little. He landed and sacked it, and there was enough property to make a few people rich. He confirms what Barros says of the storm. (C. F. B.)

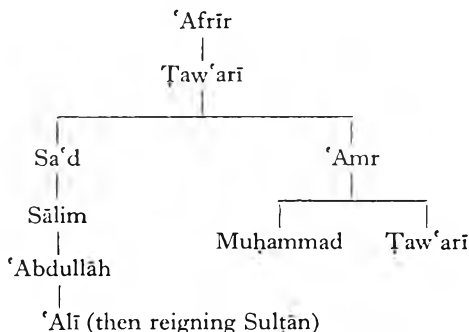
Note L, p. 56. The background to the negotiations between Aden and the Portuguese is to be seen in the siege of Aden by the Turkish admiral Muṣṭafā Bairam earlier in the same year, which inclined its ruler to friendship with the Portuguese. At this time the Portuguese were trying to blockade the mouth of the Gulf of Aden by ships extended almost within sight of each other from al-Shiḥr via Socotra to Cape Gardafui. The Portuguese commander, Eitor da Silveira, left thirty Portuguese in Aden under Antonio Botelho with a brigantine (Castanheda, viii. 16). Castanheda does not say what they were, but they must have been crew and/or soldiers, while Barros, iv. iv. 11, merely says thirty men. Both sources, however, state that the Lord of Aden agreed to pay an annual tribute of 10,000 ashrafis to Portugal, and say that the ruler of al-Shiḥr also applied to become a Portuguese vassal, promising to hand over all the Portuguese guns he had there. Silveira consequently went to al-Shiḥr when he left Aden, according to Castanheda. (C. F. B.)

Note M, p. 57. Al-Ḥāmī (the Hot) is so named because of the hot springs there, as at Ruḍūm to the west of al-Mukallā; in both places they are used for irrigation. The old town lies behind the present town spread along the sea-front and mostly inhabited by those engaged in or retired from the coasting dhow trade. The old town is in a sort of cleft of the hills, with an entrance from the south, quite invisible from the shore and readily defensible—a circumstance not accidental. The old town is entirely decayed, though many buildings (in clay) are still standing, and traces of blue and white china and some Arab glass are to be found, but no surface indications of its antiquity, though this is probably nevertheless quite considerable. In the centre of al-Shiḥr, on the other hand, near the fort, fragments of medieval Chinese and Persian ceramics are abundant and can be collected easily.

Note N, p. 59. Ḥuraidah MS., 69b, reads *istaklaf*, which a marginal note explains as *istaysarū* 'they captured'. No Ḥaḍramī was able to explain *istakla'a*, but my Yemeni friend 'Alī Bāshā states that it means *ista'sar*, confirming the marginal note in the MS.

C. F. B. states: 'The Portuguese accounts of the attack are confused, and the Portuguese had nothing of which to be proud, but 10, not 20, of their ships did sail close to the defences and got badly knocked about.' For this reason Beckingham proposes that *istakla'a* might have some such meaning as 'to dismast and shoot away the upper works of a ship'. 'The Portuguese do not speak of any of their ships being made prizes, but they had a lot of small Indian craft with them and would not bother to say what had happened to these. On the other hand the Turks seem to have avoided challenging the Portuguese at sea; Muṣṭafā had unloaded his big guns and had them on land.'

Note O, p. 61. Shaikh 'Abdullāh al-Nākhībī of al-Mukallā informs me that 'Afrār is Mahrī pronunciation and 'Afrīr is Ḥadramī. This is the tribe of the Sulṭān. I was told by another Mahrī informant that Bin 'Afrair [*sic*] was centred in Qishn but is also in 'Ataib. Shanbal writes 'Afrār under year 861 H. (A.D. 1456-7). W. Hein and D. H. Müller, 'Mehri und Hadrami-Texte', *Südarabische Expedition*, ix (Wien, 1909), p. 5. 19, and p. 158. 1, write 'Ber Afrer'. Cf. F. M. Hunter, *An Account of the Arab Tribes in the Vicinity of Aden* (Bombay, 1886), p. 47. A. Jahn, *Die Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien* (Wien, 1902), p. 210, has a different version from Hunter which follows:



Cf. *An Account of the Arab Tribes in the Vicinity of Aden* (Bombay, 1909), p. 336. Commander Haines actually negotiated with 'Amr, so this genealogy does not take us very far back. N. L. Corkill, *Notes on a Visit to Socotra*, duplicated report at Protectorate Health Service H.Q. Mukallā, 15 April 1956, gives the name of the Sulṭān of Socotra as 'Isā 'Alī 'Afrārī. Cf. p. 43.

Note P, p. 63. 'Alī Bāshā explains the Arabic of this passage, *ba'd an istatam djumlah min al-badā'i'*, as *ba'd an tamm al-shaḥnah min al-badā'i'* (after the lading of the goods was completed), but the passage is puzzling. None of the numerous persons I asked could give me any other explanation than to take the word as *istatamm*. The Gujarati word *satmī*, however, occurs in the *Mulakhkhaṣ al-Fitan* composed in A.D. 1412-13; this term was used in Aden as late as 1914 in the same sense, and is still used

in al-Mukallā. *Istatam* might be connected with this word in some such sense as 'making out a bill of lading', but this now seems to me unlikely. (1972)

When the Portuguese appeared, the *Cufturca* ran aground and the crew unloaded the guns and planted them on shore. They then at least began to unload the cargo. The cargo was valuable, and part of it fell into Portuguese hands. (C. F. B.)

Whiteway, *Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, p. 233, says cases of 'sweet water' from this ship of 800 tons were later presented to the Indian Sulṭān of Gour with the name of the original owners still attached!

Note Q, p. 64. The Arabic word should mean 'nailed ships'; sambooks are sewn together with rope. I have followed Kindermann. The *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 35a, gives the following information: 'The *kiyās al-'Aiyūk* and *al-Wāki'* (astronomical observation Capella and *al-Nasr al-Wāki'*, α in Lyra) is suitable only in the two *Ḳulzums* (Shumovsky, op. cit., p. 123, *Baḥr Ḳulzum al-'Arab* and *Baḥr Ḳulzum al-'Adjam*), the Mediterranean (*Baḥr al-Rūm*), the China Sea, and in the northern climes especially when the galleys and cargo-vessels (*ḳaṭā'i'* and *mis-māriyāt*) ride from the land of the Franks and the Mediterranean.' The sense of the passage that follows is not clear to me, but the gist seems to be that the Franks make their landfall like blind men, making for whatever landfall they perceive and entering it even if they do not intend to land there. Wherever they enter people come to them and buying and selling takes place.

Note R, p. 69. Cf. 'Star-Calendars and an Almanac from South-West Arabia', *Anthropos* (Posieux, 1954), xl. 433-59. At sea the Mansions are used, but the fact of the two Monsoons imposes a different type of reckoning. Indeed, were all the movements of the Portuguese given according to this reckoning, as so many days after *Nairūz*, instead of chronicling them under the *Hidjrah* year, the picture would be much clearer.

The star year begins in al-Mukallā as in *Ḥaḍramawt* proper with the star *al-Han'ah*. I was told that *Nairūz* is on *Ailūl* (Sept.) 1st, and the Vatican MS. 949 which contains a fragment of a commentary on *Nashwān b. Sa'id's Urdjūzah fi-'l-Shuhūr al-Rūmīyah*, states that the 30th of *Nairūz* is on *Tishrīn I*, so this would confirm that *Nairūz* from at least the Middle Ages has been reckoned as the beginning of September. However, *Ḥaḍramīs* state that *Nairūz* nowadays begins on 15 Sept., New Style, whereas, Old Style, it would have been about 1 Sept. *Shaikh Bā 'Anḳūd* of al-Mukallā told me that *al-Nairūz yuṣādif ākhir al-Kharīf* (*Nairūz* coincides with the end of the *Kharīf*). Then, he said, *al-baḥr indaḥaḳ* (the sea is now navigable). From the end of June or early July till *Nairūz* there is no movement of shipping, but after *Nairūz* all activity recommences. One says: *Sabbar al-Nairūz aw 'ād-uh ākhar manzalah.* (Has *Nairūz* begun, or is there still another Mansion [before it arrives]?) One also says: *Idhā sabbar al-Nairūz* (When *Nairūz* begins). Cf. *Ulugh-khānī*, op. cit., p. 277, *ṣabb al-Nairūz al-bahrī wa-'ftataḥ al-baḥr*. The *Instructions nautiques*, i, fol. 140b, has a verse, 'Fi 'l-mūsīm al-kabīr

yâ rafikī, min awwal Nawrūz li-'l-taghlikī' (In the great Monsoon my friend, from the 1st of Nawrūz till the closing of the sea). For the last term, see Note Z, p. 178. The *Instructions nautiques* also mentions Nairūz which seems to be the Persian Nairūz (i. 20b). Al-Nairūz al-Hindī and al-Nairūz al-'Arabī (for the text's al-Gharbī) are the same, but there is also al-Nairūz al-Sulṭānī; the former (i. 22b) comes a month more or less before al-Nairūz al-Sulṭānī, the latter being attributed to the Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn (i. 23a-b). It seems to come about the *fatrat Azyab*, the weakening of the South-East monsoon in the Yemen and the Hejaz, i.e. about the vernal equinox. Yet another Nairūz (ibid. i, fol. 93a) would fall about the shortest day in December. There are other details not germane to our context and difficult to interpret. A curious report appeared in the Aden newspaper *al-Faḍḍr* (26 Aug. 1957, II. lxxiii. 7), a criticism of *al-Nairūz alladhī yuḵāṁ rasmī-an fī Afḡwī* (the Nairūz conducted officially at Afgoi—a place 30 kilometres from Mogadisho). There is a fight with sticks between two tribes, then animals are slaughtered for a feast, fires lit, and children dance about them. It is an old custom and if not observed the river would stop and the rains would be cut off. This custom is also described in 'Aidarūs b. 'Alī al-'Aidarūs al-Nuḍairī, *Bughyat al-Āmāl fī Tārīkh al-Ṣawmāl* (Mogadiscio, A.D. 1955 (1374 H.), pp. 130-1, more fully, with illustrations.

Note S, p. 71. This personage died at Tarīm in 944 H. (A.D. 1537-8). Cf. al-Nabhānī, op. cit., ii. 125; Muḥ. b. Abī Bakr al-Shillī, *al-Mashra' al-Rawī* (Cairo, 1319 H.), ii. 134; *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 210. His grandfather was Naḡīb al-Ashraf, i.e. chief of the Saiyids, so he himself was probably a man of some influence over the tribes. He was born in 881 H. (A.D. 1476-7). From this and another instance it looks as if temporal rulers had occasion to seek assistance from the spiritual lords, the Saiyids, when they wished for military help. Dr. Lyndon P. Harries has very kindly allowed me to quote from his forthcoming book: 'The Sulṭān of Pate, probably Muḥammad V, sought the help of the shaikh Mawlā-nā Abū Bakr b. Sālim (ob. A.D. 1584) who lived in the town of 'Īnāt. The shaikh Mawlā-nā sent his two sons, or, as some hold, his grandsons, to Pate with a company of their kinsmen and retainers. Names found in Pate like Sarambi, Inati, and Shindoni are believed to relate to the names of the houses in which they lived in Pate. In later years these families were to provide more than one eminent poet, the best known of whom were Saiyid 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī b. Nāṣir who lived from A.D. 1720 to 1820 approximately, author of the poem called *al-Inkishāf*, and the shaikh Saiyid Maṣṣab born in 1829 and died in 1922, author of the Swahili redaction known as *Mawlid Barzangī*.' It is well known that the 'Īnāt saint, Bū Bakr b. Sālim, has numerous descendants in Africa, and his son 'Alī is mentioned in my copy of the famous Saiyid genealogical work *Shams al-Zahīrah* as having descendants in al-Sawāhil, but other branches of the family also have groups there.

Saiyids are also mentioned, p. 81, n. 5, in Somaliland as, apparently, military leaders.

Note T, p. 72. *Al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 208: 'In this year Sulṭān Badr executed

the Franks in al-Shiḥr, may God abandon them, after they had decided to murder him. He was with them in a room drinking, they having locked the doors on him. One of their neighbours (? or protected persons, the text is not quite clear, *fa-akhbarat-hu ba'd al-djīwār min-hum*), informed him, and he found no means of exit except through the lavatory. So he went out by it, and God delivered him. On the morning of that day he attacked (*hallab*) them and killed them to the last man, sending their heads to Sulṭān Sulaimān.' This looks like a popular tale to account for the Sulṭān's volte-face, but there is no need to give a romantic interpretation to an action based on a change of policy. The suggestion that the Sulṭān was drinking, presumably wine, with the Franks is significant. For the verb *hallab* 'alā, cf. also p. 73.

Note U, p. 73. Muḥ. b. Hāshim, *Tārīkh*, p. 42, gives what seems a somewhat garbled version of this incident. The unidentified Saiwūn MS. says that in 941 H. (A.D. 1534-5) the Ashrāf al-Djawf arrived, their *muḥaddam* or chief being Nāṣir b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain, 'wāfīdīn 'ala 'l-Sulṭān Badr b. 'Abdullāh fī naḥw arba'in khaiyāl' (as a mission to the Sulṭān Badr b. 'Abdullāh with about forty horsemen). They returned to their own country, but, at Badr's invitation, came back once more with the Sharīf al-Nāṣir, and he took them with him to Ḥairīdj (*djihat al-Mishkāṣ*). Badr had set out from al-Shiḥr to take Ḥairīdj. On this occasion he had with him thirty-two horsemen and some Mahrah. A contingent of horsemen so large would be very unusual in Ḥadramawt. In 977 H. Sharīf al-Nāṣir of al-Djawf submitted to the (Turkish) Sulṭān (de Sacy, op. cit., p. 487).

Note V, p. 80. Cf. D. Ayalon, op. cit., index, *zaptāna*, *zabtānīya*, arquebus; R. Dozy, *Supplément, zebatana*. Dimashkī (ob. 727 H. (A.D. 1327)), *Nukhbat al-Dahr*, edit. Mehren (St-Petersbourg, 1866), p. 159, says of the fawāl or areca: 'From its fine branches come the *zanbatānahs* through which hunters blow the bird pellet (*bunduḥ al-ṭair*), about the size of a chick-pea (*ḥimmaṣ*), with which they fell sparrows.' A similar description is to be found in Nuwairī, *Nihāyah* (Cairo, 1923-37), x. 350, under the form *sabaṭānah*; Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, op. cit., ii. 138, *zabaṭānah*; A. Rutgers, *Historia Jemenae sub Hasano Pascha* (Leiden, 1838), p. 138, with various forms of the word; A. S. Tritton, *Rise of the Imams of Sanaa*, op. cit., p. 132, who states it is equivalent to the French *sarbacane*. It has the form *zarbatānah* in Bā Faḳīh al-Shiḥrī's chronicles, and in D. Lopes, *Extractos*, p. 13, *darbzanaṭ* (? vocalization). *Zānah* means 'ammunition' in South Arabian colloquial Arabic, at any rate in the unidentified Saiwūn MS., and I think I have heard the word in speech, so the form appearing in Lopes suggests a possible etymology or attempt at such, if the text is not just simply corrupt. Aḥmad . . . al-Murtaḍā, *al-Baḥr al-Zakḥkhār* (Cairo, 1949), iv. 301, has the phrase *bunduḥat al-djulāḥik wa-'l-zabraṭān*. For the *djulāḥik* (pl. -āt), cf. Lane, *Lexicon*; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* (Cairo, 1938-48), ii. 219; Kushādjim, *al-Maṣāyid wa-'l-Maṭārid* (Baghdad, 1954), p. 247; Nuwairī, loc. cit., p. 324 with verses thereon; Ḳalkashandī, loc. cit.; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i. 172.

Note W, p. 80. Today 'arshah means an awning, I was told. 'This is always to be seen at the poop in the stern (*Instructions nautiques*, i. fol. 91b, *ṣadr al-markab wa-'adżz-hā*, the bow and stern of the ship); here would be seated the *nākludhā* and passengers. It is said also to mean *Rohrgerüst* — *über dem Boot* by A. Socin, *Diwan aus Centralarabien* (Leipzig, 1900-1), i. 300, and *Vorzimmer* in C. Reinhardt, op. cit., p. 227. I am inclined, when looking at the models of the type of vessel used by the Portuguese (see Pl. 1), to think that a better rendering may indeed be the 'fore part' of the ship, and, had the ball fallen on the stern, steering might have been difficult. Kindermann, op. cit., p. 12, says that 'arshah means a sort of place, under which there is shade. Cf. Kāzim al-Dudjailī, *Asmā' mā fi 'l-Safmah*, *Lughat al-'Arab* (Baghdad, 1912-13), ii. 198-205.

Note X, p. 83. No entirely satisfactory explanation of this word was given by the numerous persons I asked. In the passage from al-Djarmūzī (p. 119) it seems to be 'a restraint' on goods. 'Alī Bāshā gave me the following note:

ای سمح عنهم الرسم وهو أجرة العسکری الحارس علیهم وعندنا یقولوا للمحبوس
سلم أم رسم .

Löfgren, *Arabische Texte*, ii. 219 and gloss., has *tarsīm*, 'arrest' (cf. Ibn Iyās, op. cit., iv. 180). The Emir of Zūfār and the kādī, according to Bā Faḳīh (fol. 77b), were put in irons *wa-r s m 'alai-him fa-'ftakka 'l-amīr bi-nafsi-hi bi-thalāthat ālāf ashrafī* (i.e. ransomed himself for 3,000 ashrafis). It might be derived from such usages as al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, i. 87, *rasama al-sultān bi-taḳyīd awlād al-'Āḍid* (the Sultān decreed the fettering of al-'Āḍid's children).

Note Y, p. 95. 'The town commandant. Text: *al-fitūr*, to be corrected by Bā Faḳīh's entry *supra*, p. 83. Describing the same events the Venetian officer pressed into Sulaimān Bāshā's service (Thomas Astley, *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1745-7), i. 96) writes, Aser (al-Shihr), 'a desert and barren place where both Men and Cattle are forced to live on Fish. These men were forty Portuguese with their Consul; who residing here carried on Trade, and had always with him some Merchants, besides those which continually arrived, and exported Spice, and other Things. But their chief Trade was in Horses, which are excellent, one being valued at a hundred Ducats, and more; and, in India, will sell for a thousand. But as soon as the King of this Country understood that Soleymān Bāshā was coming with his Fleet, he caused the Portuguese to be seized in their House, and made a Present of them to this Bāshā, who ordered them all to be chained. Here also they found a Ship, which had staid by the Way, not being able to proceed for India; and of a sudden seized all the Biscuit for the Use of the Fleet which remained here three Days. 'Tis worth taking Notice, that in all the Places where the Fleet arrived, the Turks gave out, that they had taken the whole Country of India, and cut all the Christians in pieces.' They left on

1 December and took on water at Mikaiya (probably al-Mukallā, though actually Fuwwah is forty miles west as the crow flies).

Note Z, p. 100. Saiyid Aḥmad al-ʿAṭṭās states that the *waḳt al-tagħliḳ* is especially July and August, but it also falls in June to some extent. In al-Shiḥr it is known as *ḳuḫl al-baḥr*. Fishermen do fish during this season, but in bigger stronger sambooks than usual, and it is a tiring business (*taʿab*) and not a good fishing season. Cf. *Instructions nautiques*, i, fols. 73a, 90a, 92a, 170b, 'Fi 'l-ghalak aw fī mawsim al-asfār. Magħlaḳ al-baḥr wa-'l-miftāḥ, fa-ghalak-uh yamkuth ruba' 'ām, muddat tis'ūn min al-aiyām' (In the closure or season of voyages. The locking and opening of the sea, its closure lasts a quarter of the year, a period of ninety days). The Mansions in which this period falls are al-Dabarān to Zabrah, according to my *Star-Calendars*, the 15th of June to the 15th of September.

Note AA, p. 104. An interesting aside on the Turks at Zailā' is to be found in the large volume of Bā Makhramah's *Fatāwā* (iv. 586) which I saw in Dathinah. Though the incident to which reference is made is probably not connected with this particular Turkish expedition, it cannot have taken place so very long after it, since Bā Makhramah died in 972 H. (A.D. 1564-5). The case relates to a group of Saiyids (*djamā'ah min al-Sādah al-Ashrāf*), probably in fact Ḥadramī Saiyids. It happened that a body of Turks (Arwām) passed by Bandar Zailā' between whom and the Sulṭān of the country (*dawlat al-balad*) there was disturbance (?) and dissension (*gharwash wa-fitnah*). The author goes on to say, 'wa-ḥasal al-khawf min-hum 'alā ahl al-balad min al-naḥb wa-ghairi-hi', i.e. they were afraid of being plundered. The Ashrāf or Saiyids then sought to placate the Turks so that they would not injure the people of the town, and the Turks departed. The text continues: 'Thumma inna Amīr al-balad ḳāma fī adhiyat al-Sharīf al-madhḳūr al-sā'ī fī maṣlaḥat al-muslimīn wa-taḏāhara bi-'adāwah wa-akhāfa-hu, huwa wa-ghaira-hu min al-Ashrāf . . . mana'a-hum al-mā' aiyaman wa-maḳṣūdu-hu ḥalāku-hum bi-l-'aṭsh wa-fi 'l-bait al-Sharīf [*sic*] . . . naḥw khamsīn muslim [*sic*], wa-min-hā anna-hu mana'a-hum min al-taṣarruf wa-'l-bai' wa-'l-shirā wa-safīr (Saiyid Aḥmad al-ʿAṭṭās proposes here to read *tasfīr*) amwālī-him.' In brief, for their cajolery of the Turks the Saiyids were punished by the Muslim ruler who cut off their water-supply and stopped them from buying and selling, and exporting their goods abroad.

Note BB, p. 105. These were Turkish grabs returning along the coast from an attack on Ḥairīdj where there were some of the B. 'Afrār. They then went to Qishn where they demanded a levy (? *ḳiṭ'ah*) like that they received from the Lord of al-Shiḥr. I suppose *ḳiṭ'ah* to mean a share in the port revenues, for Ibn al-Mudjāwir, op. cit., ii. 296, speaks of the *ḳiṭ'ah* the khalīfahs of Ḳais Is. used to pay Rukn al-Dunyā, possibly also meaning a levy. However, the people of Ḥairīdj refused to accede and resisted the Turks, but the latter managed to capture some notables, including 'Abūd b. Djirdān (v.r. Kh rdān, Ḥuraidah MS., fol. 121b). They also took a skiff (*tarrād*) containing women of the Āl Kathīr bound for Zufār, but the

latter displayed a pass (*khaff*) from Sulṭān Badr, whereat the Turks set them free. On hearing they had taken the Mahrah prisoner, Sulṭān Badr sent his slave ('*abd*) Yūsuf al-Turkī to ask the Turks to set them at liberty also.

As a further example of local coastal fighting it may be noted that in 952 H. (A.D. 1545-6) Sulṭān Badr attacked al-Mishkāṣ by both land and sea. His little fleet consisted of 3 grabs, 3 dhows (*djilāb*), 3 skiffs (*tarārid*), 10 Aden sambooks, and 30 '*abariyah* sambooks. The land force included a surprisingly large contingent of about 100 horsemen drawn from all parts of the country. Beside his Bedouin groups, Zaidi and Yāfi'i troops also accompanied Badr (Bā Faḳīh al-Shiḥrī, fol. 131a).

Note CC, p. 108. The Turks did not take Aden until 958-9 H. (A.D. 1551). There is confusion in the notices on the Turkish expedition in this part of Bā Faḳīh's History, and the entries seem to have been placed under the wrong dates. In the annal for the year 968 H. (A.D. 1560-1) there seems to be a reference to Piri's attack on Hurmuz which, the author states explicitly, he has recorded under 959 H. (A.D. 1552), but in fact only the briefest allusion is made to Piri's putting into al-Shiḥr. Yet again the reference to Piri captaining three grabs in 968 H. (A.D. 1560-1) is unquestionably wrong, because all other sources agree that he was executed quite a few years before this date. I can only conclude that Bā Faḳīh relied here on information probably correct in itself, but utterly wrong in regard to dates, perhaps even, in fact, oral information.

Note DD, p. 109. This entry seems correctly placed, for in this year Piri (Ra'is) sailed with *qadyrga* (قدیرغه), *baštarda* (باشترده), *qalita* (قالیته), and *qalion* (قالیون), these vessels being distinguished from each other by the number of rowers' benches they contained. His ships were scattered by mist, and at al-Shiḥr part of his *barchah* (بارچه) went to pieces. He sailed on to the Persian Gulf, to 'Uman and Muscat, and laid siege unsuccessfully to Hurmuz in A.D. 1552 (959 H.). Cf. Ḥāgi Ḥalifa, *Tuhfat el-Kibār fī Asfār al-Bihār* (Istanbul, 1728-9), fols. 69a-72a. The *qalion* is the upper deck of a two-deck ship called *kuka* (کوکو), but it also means a large ship with sails or oars. Mr. V. L. Ménage has referred me to H. and R. Kahane, 'Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian Origin', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New York, 1942), lxii. 238-61, where *galion*, *kaliun*, a 'man-of-war', is derived from Venetian, and *barçe* from the Italian *bargia*. To Professor Wittek I am indebted for drawing my attention to the excellent description of Turkish shipping in Paul Kahle, 'Piri Re'is Bahrije', *Das türkische Segelhandbuch für das mittelländische Meer vom Jahre 1521* (Berlin u. Leipzig, 1926), ii, pp. xxxiv, ff., 'Die türkischen Schiffe und ihre Ausrüstung'. The description is supplemented by illustrations, and much detail concerning the equipment of the vessels. The Rumūzī illustrations (Frontispiece) seem to depict a *qadyrga* (cf. *ibid.*, p. xxxvii), as one can read in the page itself.

At the time of writing this note Tietze and Kahane, *The Lingua Franca of the Levant*, had not appeared.

Note EE, p. 111. Professor Beckingham writes: "The expedition was sent by the Sinān, Pasha of the Yemen, which may explain Bā Faḳīh's reference to him. Couto does not say he accompanied the expedition, and it seems most improbable that he should have done. The captain was 'Alī Bey. He commanded four galleys which were fitted out at a place that Couto calls "Mora" and then "Meca", which must be errors for "Moca". Sinān was instigated to this by the Moors of Muscat. Couto says nothing of Indians being on the ships but he does mention that there were many of them living in Ṣan'ā' (Haná)—*porque vivem alli muitos*. Some of his Moors may well have been Indians, for the word means no more than "Muslim" to the Portuguese of this date. Some of these "Moors" accompanied the expedition to act as guides since they knew Muscat and described the wealth of the country to Sinān. 'Alī Bey avoided the foist on the lookout at Rās al-Hadd, and landed a force at the bay of "Sedabo", on 22 September A.D. 1581. A joint attack was made at dawn by the galleys and inland force. The population withdrew to Maṭraḥ, and then inland to the fortress of "Bruxes", but there was some resistance. The Turks sacked the town, loaded their booty on to three ships that were in the harbour, then made off. They burned the church and killed the dogs, cats, and pigs, hunting down the latter, "though nowadays they eat them more heartily than the Christians do and it may be that is why they killed them!"

Note FF, p. 139. Vol. iv of his larger *Fatāwā* seen with the Kāḍī of Dathīnah. The text runs as follows:

كتاب عقد الجزية

مسألة: عن طائفة من الذميين اليهود ساكنين بعدن، وكان في آخر دولة بني طاهر تؤخذ منهم الجزية دراهم باعتبار صرف الوقت. فكانت في ذلك الوقت نحو سبعة آلاف دينار فضة. ثم في أوایل هذه الدولة الحنكرية السعيدة وصلت جملة الجزية عليهم الى عشرة آلاف بقشة سليمان، والآن ارتفع سعر الذهب فأراد متولى قبض الجزية أن يحاسبهم على مقتضى ذلك، فقال لهم: أريد احاسبكم على مقتضى الشريعة — كل رجل دينار ذهب إسلامي أو قيمته فضة بالصرف. فامتنعوا من ذلك. فما تقولون يا علماء الاسلام؟ هل لمتولى الجزية ذلك بوجه الشرع الشريف، أعزه الله تعالى؟ وإذا رفع الأمر الى مولانا الباشا، نصره الله تعالى يجب عليه تمكينه من ذلك ويجريه على هذا الشرع الشريف، أعزه الله تعالى، أم لا؟

جواب: قضى رسول الله صلعم في الجزية على كل حالم دينار، وهو مثقال ذهب أو قيمته. وجرى على ذلك الصحابة، رضى الله عنهم، من بعده؛ وكذلك التابعون ومن بعدهم من السلف والخلف. فلمتولى قبض الجزية

المطالبة بذلك على الوجه الشرعى . فإذا رفع الأمر الى مولانا الباشا نصره الله ، وجب عليه تمكينه من ذلك واجراؤه ، هو وهم ، على حكم الله سبحانه وتعالى وحكم رسوله صلعم .

Khunkāriyah as an appellation of the Turks is also to be found in Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Fatāwā al-Kubrā*, iii. 8: 'Khurūdj al-'amārat al-Khunkāriyah wa-'l-Bāshā wa-'l-'asākir wa-taḍyīku-hum fi 'l-dawābb wa-'l-taḍyīk 'alā arbābi-hā.'

Note GG, p. 144. 'Abd al-Khalīq Kāzī, *Critical Edition of the Kitāb al-Muntakhab fi 'l-Fiqh*—a collection of answers of the Zaidī Imām Yaḥyā b. al-Husain to questions by Abū Dja'far Muḥammad b. Sulaimān al-Kūfī. Thesis in the Library of the S.O.A.S., Glossary, dirham ḳaflah, and p. 109, &c. The *Tādj al-'Arūs* says:

قفلة الوزن من الدراهم كما في الصحاح قال ابن دريد درهم قفلة وزن . . . قال الازهرى هذا من كلام اهل اليمن .

I am indebted to Professor A. S. Tritton for a reference to the Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 18513 (fol. 159a) al-Tardjumān al-Mufattiḥ, a ninth/fifteenth-century work:

واشتري نراش من السلطان بخمسائة الف درهم مهدية كل درهم بلما قفلة بقفلة الاسلام . . . وفرق ذلك على اهل بلاده على كل بالغ عنى أربعة دراهم وحكم بوجوب ذلك رعاية للمصلحة العامة .

I understand this passage to mean that he bought vessels of the type known as barshah for 500,000 dirhams of the kind known as Mahdī dirhams, 'each dirham being two-thirds of a ḳaflah, according to the Islāmic ḳaflah'. This sum he imposed as a tax (*farak*) on the people of his country; it is interesting that the term *firkah* remains to this day for levying a tax which lies outside the normal taxation of the country. From the text it is clear that the ruler intended is al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāsim b. 'Abdullāh b. Ismā'il who reigned from 646 H. (A.D. 1248-9) to 656 H. (A.D. 1258). Cf. S. M. Stern, 'Some Unrecognised Dirhems of the Zaidis of the Yemen', *Numismatic Chronicle* (London, 1949), vi. ix. 185-6.

H. Nützel, *Münzen der Rasuliden* (Berlin, 1891), p. 30, quotes a passage on the Muẓaffarid dirham issued by al-Malik al-Muẓaffar (647 H. (A.D. 1249-50)-694 H. (A.D. 1294-5)). This dirham was *fiḍḍah khālīshah wazmu-hu nūsf ḳaflah aw ziyād(ah)* (pure silver of the weight of half a ḳaflah or more). An example is shown by Nützel (p. 44) dated 650 H. (A.D. 1252-3) and weighing 1.48 gm. (Dchm. 25 mm.). The ḳaflah on the basis of my texts and Hinz's data has been worked out at 3.12 gm., so half the ḳaflah would be 1.56 gm. The difference between the two weights is 0.08 gm., which, allowing for wear, tear, and corrosion, is very close indeed.

According to al-Tardjumān al-Mufattiḥ, *supra*, the Mahdī dirham is two-thirds of a ḳaflah, i.e. 2.08 gm., but Nützel has published a coin of

Zafār of 653 H., though the Imām ‘Abdullāh b. Ḥamzah is said not to have reigned until 657 H. (though Nützel’s reading may be wrong, unless one is to see some political implication in this date). A weight of 1.80 gm. is given; so if it is meant to be two-thirds of a kaflah it is short of weight by 0.28 gm. or one-seventh of its proper weight. On the other hand, it is too heavy to be half a kaflah.

According to C. van Arendonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, p. 243, the dirham ṣaghīr was one-third of a dirham kaflah.

Figures given by A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet* (Brünn-Wien, 1933), ii. 99, probably from Glaser’s *Tagebuch* X or III make the dirham-weight 3.12 gm. (10 dirhams to the ūḳīyah) at the present time. This, as has just been remarked, is exactly a kaflah-weight.

Note HH, p. 145. Cf. *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 203. Ibn Dja’mān, *Fatāwā*, fol. 128a, mentions 10 dhahab Miṣrī and 9 dhahab Wazīrī, the latter being min al-darāhim al-awwalah, composed of olden-time dirhams. Again, fol. 167a, he talks of 7 dhahab fidḍah Ṣan’ānīyah, 7 dhahabs of Ṣan’ānī silver (coins). These must be notional coins used to express a known sum of silver coins. Tritton, loc. cit., refers to darāhim Ṣan’ānīyah, and to darāhim Miṣrīyah, each phrase qualifying the term ḥarf, which I assume to be the notional gold coin. *Al-Sanā’ al-Bāhir*, fol. 279b, speaks of 500 aḥmar coins at Mecca in the year 945 H. (A.D. 1538-9). The dinār mathākīl is mentioned by van Arendonk, op. cit., p. 181. Cf. K. *al-Muntakhab*, S.O.A.S. thesis, glossary.

Another term used for gold coins is shakhṣ (pl. shukhūs) as in *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, p. 53, where a treasure of pre-Islamic coinage is found in the foundations (*asās*) of an old mosque, each piece being a quarter of an ūḳīyah. The term ‘mushakhkhaṣ’, according to Ḳalkāshandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii. 441, was applied to a Frankish coin. Cf. p. 152, n. 3, *supra*.

Note II, p. 148. This passage merits further examination, and it is worth while recording the following information.

The legal minimum (niṣāb) of silver liable to tax in the Yemen is 210 kaflahs (which must therefore be equivalent to 200 Islāmic dirhams).

An Islāmic ūḳīyah equals 4 Yemeni ūḳīyahs plus 2 kaflahs.

So, expressed in ūḳīyahs, the niṣāb of silver in the Yemen is 21 ūḳīyahs, the latter equivalent to 5 Islāmic ūḳīyahs. Further correspondences may be worked out from the fact that an Islāmic ūḳīyah equals 40 Islāmic dirhams, and an Islāmic dirham equals $16\frac{4}{5}$ kīrāts.

The legal minimum for gold, states Ibn Dja’mān, is on our (Yemenite) known ūḳīyahs the amount of 3 ūḳīyahs. In Islāmic ūḳīyahs it is three-quarters of an Islāmic ūḳīyah minus 2 mithkāl̄s.

The mithkāl̄ is equivalent to $1\frac{1}{2}$ Yemenite kaflahs. The mithkāl̄ is also equivalent to 24 kīrāts. ‘I mean the mithkāl̄ in the kīrāts of Egypt, al-Ḥaramain, and the Yemen. The Egyptian kīrāt̄ is equivalent to 3 grains (shu’airah).’

A Ḥadramī writer, al-Saiyid ‘Abdullāh b. Dja’far b. ‘Alawī, Tadhkirat al-Mutadhakkir fī-mā djarā min al-Sail al-Muṭahhir, Dār al-Kutub MS.

no. 1257, p. 17, mentions as cheap, raṭl Makkat al-saman [*sic*] sold for 3 kibār, and kailat Makkah bi-thalāthah kibār, a pound of ghee and a Mekan measure each costing 3 kabīrs. This author is probably the same as the poet in 'Abdullāh b. Muḥ. b. Ḥāmid al-Saḳḳāf al-'Alawī, *Tārīkh al-Shu'arā' al-Ḥaḍramīyīn* (Cairo, 1352), ii. 108 ff. He flourished in the first half of the twelfth century H.

Note Jf, p. 151. Voyage en Arabie (Amsterdam, 1774), iii. 190. It is interesting to note that by this period there are 80 bukshahs to the écu (A.D. 1762), but this is a notional not an actual coin at that period. Djar-mūzī (cf. p. 112), pp. 103 ff., gives famine prices in the Yemen in 1061 H. (A.D. 1651) as follows. Firstly the Ṣan'ā' measure al-ḳadaḥ al-Ṣan'ānī stood at 10 ḥurūf, and later he mentions the load of straw (*al-ḥaml al-tibn*) at 6 and 8 ḥurūf, the bundle of millet-cane (*ḥizmat al-ḳaṣab*) which can be enclosed in the two thumbs at 10 kibār (i.e. kabīrs) and 7 kibār. About the mid-nineteenth century the ḥarf was worth less than half a dirham according to 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir, *Uḳūd al-Almās* (Singapore, 1949-), p. 6, but more precisely we learn that a man who performed circumcisions in Ḥuraidah at this time received a ḥarf and his lunch (*ghadā'*) for his pains.

GLOSSARY OF FOREIGN WORDS

- Āb*, August–September, 11.
'Abarī (pl. *'abārī*), type of sambook, 133–6, 179.
'Abarīyah, 179, see *'abārī*, 134.
'Abatha, to play hell, 162.
'Abd, slave, 80, 82, 179.
'Abri, see *'abārī*, 133.
Abṭal, abolish, 148.
Abṭaw, they tarried, 119.
Abū, father of, consult under second word in such combinations as *Abū Dik*, *Abū fatilah*, &c.
'ād, still, e.g. *'ād-uh*, 87, 174.
'Adad-hā wa-'udad-hā, numbers and equipment, 78.
Ādamī, person, 157.
Adḥā, see *'Id al-Adḥā*.
Adḥīyah, harm, injury, 143.
'Adjz al-markab, stern of ship, 177.
'Adl, trustworthy person, 36.
'ād-uh, see *'ād*.
Afūts, (gun-)carriages, 159.
Afyūn, opium, 72.
Aghlā, raise the price, 84.
Aghrāb, strangers or grabs, 62.
Aghribat ḥarbiyah, naval grabs, see *ghurāb*, 67.
Aḥdath, open an unprovoked attack, 114.
Ahl, family, 75, 76.
Ahmādī, pagans, barbarians, *a. al-Naṣārā*, Christian barbarians, *a. Sufālah*, pagans of Sofala, 157.
Aḥmāl, baggage, 34.
Ahmar, gold piece, coin. See also *ḥarf* and *dhahab*, 34, 118, 125, 145, 154, 182.
Aḥsan, see *ḥasan*.
Ailūl, September, 174.
'Ain, beginning of the year, 96.
'Ain al-Baḳar (pl. *'uyūn al-b.*), small plums of *barḳūḳ* type, 48.
Aiyām al-zīnah, see *zīnah*.
al-'Aiyūḳ, Capella (star), 174.
Akābir, notables, 76.
Akcheh, a coin, 143, 149–50.
'Aḳd, see *wilāyah*, 96.
Akhaff, see *sair*, 114.
'Āḳil, headman, 61.
Aḳmishah (s. *ḳumāshī*), cloth, 72.
'Aḳrab, Scorpion, name applied to type of dhow, 136.
Ālah, *ā. kāmilah*, fittings of ship, 122.
Ālāt (pl. of previous), tackle, 87.
al-'Ālī, north, see *sāfil*, 75.
Almās, diamond, 79; *faṣṣ a.*, diamond stone, 76.
Āltūn, gold coin, e.g. *kisah a.*, 140; *Sulaimānī a.*, 150.
Amadd, reinforce, 102.
'Amal, see *dhirā'*.
A'mām, (paternal) uncles, 157.
Amān, amnesty, quarter, safe-conduct, security, 61, 73, 74, 76, 90, 91, 95; *al-amān wa-'l-iṭmī'nān*, peace and security, 98.
Amānah, safe-deposit, article held in trust, 36–37.
'Amārah, *al-'amārat al-Khunkāriyah*, the Turkish fleet, 181.
Ambā, flat-topped hill, 102.
Ambre gris, 96.
'Āmil, governor, 77.
al-'Āmil, current use, 148.
Āmin, safe, 123.
Amir or *Emir*, 41, 46, 48, 55, 72, 77, 85, 92, 96, 106; *amir al-Baḥr*, 'admiral', 118; *amir al-Balad*, town governor, 52, 178.
Amr, see *lisān*.
Amr al-sā'i, command of the vessel, 58.
Amwāl, goods, 111.
'Anbar, ambergris, 76.
Angareb, probably equivalent to *sarīr*, bed, 126.
Anna, coin, 154.
Antakh, *a. al-markab* = *ṣadamnā*, q.v. infra, 52. See *natakh*, &c.
Aqcheh, coin name, 141.
Arbāb (s. *rabb.*), owners, 64.
Arbāb al-Dawlah, authorities, 64.
Ardabb, cubic measure, 149.
Armes de Portugal, 159.
'Arshah, awning of dhow, 77, 80.
Arslān, e.g. *Arslān ḳir sh*, Lion 123.
Asās, foundations, 182.

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Note: In Index no. 2 account is not taken of the titles *amīr/emir*, *faḳīh*, *imām*, *ḳāḍī*, *pasha*, *saiyid*, *shaikh*, *sharīf*, *sulṭān*, and *abū*, *ahl*, *āl*, *banū*, *bin*, preceding proper names, although these titles be inserted: e.g. *Sulṭān 'Alī* is listed under the letter A. Names beginning with *Bā*, however, are listed under the letter B.

Asfār, *marwāsīm al-a.*, 178. See *mūsīm*.

'*Ashā*, e.g. '*ashā fi 'l-barr wa-'l-bahr*, levy (lit. supper) on land and sea, 24.

'*Asharah*, ten, i.e. ten *dīnārs*, 103, 145.

Ashraf, see *sharīf*, *naḳīb*, and Index no. 2.

Ashrafī, a gold coin name, 28, 34, 45, 54, 67, 71, 72, 86, 105, 140, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 167, 172, 177; Aden *a.*, 45; *a. dīnār*, 45; *bāshī a.*, 142.

'*Askar*, soldiers, see *rumāh*, 171.

'*Askarī*, soldier, see *udjrat*, 177.

Aṣl, main part, 93; *a. al-bilād*, original town, 77.

Aspre, coin name, 146, 150.

Atdjār, merchants, 93.

Ateliers, 152.

Athkāl, valuables, 61, 84.

Awda'a, to deposit, 63.

Awwal, see *darāhim*, 182.

Azyab, monsoon blowing from the east, 52, 55, 57, 72; *fatrat A.*, the weakening of the east monsoon, 175.

Bā shirā', see *shirā'*.

Bāb, court, 98.

Baḳā'i', goods, 173.

Badawī, Bedouin, 61.

Bāghī, bound for, 100.

Baghla, 135. See next following.

Baghlah, type of dhow, 133.

Bahār, see *buhār*.

Baharah, seamen, mariners, 67, 87.

Bahḥarah, mariners, 124.

Bahr, sea, 24. See *iftatah*, 174, *indahak*, 174, *kufūl*, 178, *maghlak*, 178, *miṣṭāh*, 178, *Nairūz*, *taghlīk*.

Bahriyah, seamen, seafarers, 50, 66.

al-Baidā', good silver (coin), 147.

Bairak (pl. *bayārik*), ship's flag, 87; emblem of a saint, 137.

Bakar, cattle, 70.

Bāk, *bākat al-safinah*, the ship founded, 63. Cf. *bawwak*, infra.

Baḳīyat al-Yūnān, the descendants of the Greeks, 157.

Balad, town, city, 45, 46, 47, 59, 65, 160.

Bali, worn (?), 152.

Bāligh, adult male, 181.

Banādīk, see *bunduk*.

Banādīkah, musketeers, 73.

Banādir, see *bandar*.

Bandakah, see *khidmah*.

Bandar (pl. *banādir*), port, 34, 36, 54, 62.

Bāniyān, Hindu, 32, 33, 34, 37, 70; *al-B. al-kuffār*, heathen Hindus, 33.

Barakah, good fortune, 137.

Baraza, appear, 88.

Barazah, conference, 88.

Barča = *barshah*, q.v., 135.

Barče, see *barča*, *barshah*, 179.

Bārchah, type of ship, see *barshah*, 44, 132, 134, 179.

Bargantim, 170; *pera recados*, 171.

Bargia, 179.

Barḳūk, small plums, 48.

Barmil, barrel, 136.

Barque, 134, 135.

Barr, *al-b.*, the country, 86, 161; the hinterland of Aden, 78; the field, 77; the coast, 66, 89; inland, 88; *b. al-'Arab*, 167. See '*ashā*, 24.

Barshah (pl. *birash*), galliot, long covered boat, large ship, 44, 119, 134, 181; consistently translated as galliot, 133.

Barshakāl, rainy season, 89.

Bārūd, gunpowder, 160, 161. See *bārūt* and *marāmī*.

Bārūt, gunpowder, 51, 60; *b. makh-tūm 'alaihi*, gunpowder sealed up inside, 122; *buram b.*, see *burmah*, 71.

Bāsh, five, 142.

Bāsh al-'askar, military title of Turkish official, 162.

Bāsh al-Mudjāwirin, title of Turkish official in Mecca, 161.

Bāshā, Pasha, 180-1. See *bāsh* and *bāshāt*.

Bāshah, a coin name, 143. Cf. *bāshī* and *bāshīyah*.

Bāshāt, Pashas, 168.

Bāshī, epithet applied to coins, 143; *b. ashrafis*, 142; *b. dirhams*, 142. Cf. *bāshah* and *bāshīyah*.

Bāshīyah (pl. *āt*), a coin name, 142. Cf. *bāshah* and *bāshī*.

Basilisk, type of gun, 170.

Baštarda, type of vessel, 179.

Batel, ship's boat, 54.

Bāṭin, waist of a vessel, 122.
Batman, a weight name, 140.
Bawāridj al-Hind, Indian pirates, 23.
Bawwaḡ, to scuttle, 63. Cf. *bāk*, supra.
Bayāriḡ, see *bairah*.
Bazz, cloth, 68.
Bilād, see *ḥafiz*, 53, and *aṣl*, 77.
Billawr, crystal, 41.
Biram, see *burmah*.
Birash, see *barshah*, 181.
Bishkāl, rainy season = *barshakāl*, 89.
 Adj. *bishkālī*, 89.
Boekhouder, book-keeper, writer, 121.
Bogġa, coin name = *bukshah*, 140.
Bū, see *shatraḥ*, 62, and *daḡlah*, 62.
Buhār, (or *bahār*), a weight name, usually 300 lb., discussed, 77, 79, 126, 151; Aden b., 145.
Buḡdjah, square piece of cloth for wrapping, 140; applied to name of coin, 149, 153. See *bukshah*.
Bukshah, originally a wrapper for cloth (*bukshat thiyāb*), 140; or coin, 140; then a coin name, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 146, 149, 150, 152-4, 183; still coin name in the Yemen, 140; fractions of, 142; two types of, 151; b. 'Adaniyah, Adenese b., 150; al-b. al-Badriyah, coined by Badr, 141, 142; b. Shāmīyah, Syrian or Damascan (?) b., 149; b. Sulaimānī, 139-40, 180. See *dirham*, *Z m riyah*.
Bunduḡ, (pl. *banādiḡ*), bullet, ball, 80, 84, 106; b. al-ṭair, bird pellet, 176; *bunduḡat al-djulāhiḡ wa-l-zabraṭān*, 176; musket, gun, 171; al-banādiḡ al-lūḡ, 171; *banādiḡ al-Rūm*, 171.
Bunduḡah, bullet, 52.
Burdj, tower, 47, 50, 59; *burdjain ḡiblatain*, two eastern towers, 160.
Burmah (pl. *biram*, *buram*), pot, powder pot, 71, 122; *buram bārūt*, 71; *biram min al-madar*, clay pots, 122.
Cabeer = *kabir*, q.v., 152.
Cammashees, 152. See *khumsīyah*.
Cammassie, 152. See *khumsīyah*.
Canons de fonte, 159.
Capella, see *al-Aiyūḡ*, 174.

Capitano, 48.
Caravelāo, 170.
Caravelas, 170.
Carraque, 159.
Caveer = *kabir*, q.v., 152.
Cerrifis = *Sharifis*, q.v., 152.
Charḡoy, 22.
Chicquems = sequins, q.v., 29.
Cocotier, *cordes de fibres de c.*, 134.
Coffilas = *ḡaflahs*, q.v., 151.
Commesh = *khumsīyah*, q.v., 153.
Cordes, see *cocotier*, 134.
Cotia, type of ship, see *kūtiyah*, 65, 135.
Cruzado, 145.
al-Dabarān, *Aldebaran*, star name, 178.
Daf'ah, a flooding, 47.
ḡai'ah, village, 168.
ḡa'if, base (of coin), 148.
al-Daimānī, see *al-mūsīm al-D.*, 54.
Dain, debt, 148.
Dairiyah, name of coin, 141.
Daḡiḡ, flour, 66.
Daḡal, mast, 62, see *bā daḡlah*.
Dakkah, platform, 161.
Bū Daḡlah, name of type of dhow, 62. See *daḡal*.
Dallāl, broker, 71.
ḡamān, d. *al-wadi'ah*, safety of article deposited, 36.
Danānīr, see *dīnār*.
Dang = *djāyiz*, a coin name, 144.
Dār, tower-fort, tower-house, 49, 167.
Darāhim, see *dirham*.
Darb, (pl. *durūb*), wall, 50, 53, 89; *durūb*, *buyūt*, house-walls, 50.
Darbsanāt, probably a corrupt form, 176.
ḡawlah, *sulṭān*, 105, 178, 179; *arbāb al-d.*, authorities, 64.
Demi-navire, 134.
Dhahab, a gold coin, 141, 145, 148, d. *aḡmar*, 34, d. *min fulūs*, consisting of copper coins, 148; d. *Miṣri*, Egyptian d., 182; d. *Wazīrī*, 182. See *fiḡḡah*.
Dhimmi, 180.
Dhirā', cubit, 160; d. *al-'amal*, technical term for a cubit and a third, 160, 161, 162; d. *al-ḡadīd al-Miṣri*, Egyptian iron cubit, 160, 162;

- d. al-Hāshimī*, technical term for a cubit measure, 162.
- Dhull*, weakness, 49; alarm, 89.
- Didjr akhḍar* = *mundj*, chick peas, 77.
- Abū Dik*, vessel with a fine bow, 136.
- Dinār* (pl. *danānir*), a gold coin, 10, 36, 103, 147, 153, 154; *Ashrafī d.*, 45; *d. fiḍḍah*, notional coin = 4 dirhams, 139, 140; Islāmic *d.*, 139; *d. mathākil*, 182; *d. sawdā'*, 147; *d. 'ushārīyah*, *d.* of 10 dirhams, 144; Yemeni *d.*, 144. See also *dirham*, *uḳīyah*.
- Dirham*, (pl. *darāhim*), a silver coin, 72, 140-1, 144-5, 147-8, 153, 180-1, 183; 'Abbāsīd *ds.*, 147; *al-darāhim al-awwalah*, olden time *ds.*, 182, *darāhim biḳash*, 150; Islāmic *d.*, 145, 147, 149, 154, 182; *d. kabīr*, 146; *d. kabīr* first struck by Ṭughtakīn, 147; *d. ḳaflah*, 144, 182; *darāhim Miṣriyah*, Egyptian *ds.*, 182; *darāhim ḳadimah*, old *ds.*, 148; *darāhim sawdā'*, black, i.e. base *ds.*, 147; *d. ṣaghīr*, 146, 182, Saifī *ds.*, 147; *darāhim Ṣan'āniyah*, 182, Yemeni *d.*, 144; 4 *ds.* = 1 *dinār*, 139, 144; 10 *ds.* = 1 *dinār*, 139, 144; *d.* weight, 182 *et passim*. See *ḥarf darāhim*, 151; *dinār-dirham* ratio, 139; Mahdī *d.*, 181; Muzaffarid *d.*, 181; Sulaimānī *d.*, 141.
- Dīwān*, government bureau in charge of customs, 77.
- Diyah*, blood-wit, 153.
- Dj* pronounced *y*, 69, 169.
- Djabbānah*, cemetery, cemetery mosque, 49.
- Djahab*, to beach, draw up on the beach, 68, 80, 106.
- Djahāzī/jahazi*, long sailing-vessel, 133, 136.
- Djahhaz*, to dispatch, 162; *djahhaz markab-an*, écuiper un vaisseau, 136.
- Djalabah* (pl. *djilāb*), dhow, large dhow, 57, 69, 100, 114, 133, 134, 170, 179; Aden *d.*, 134.
- Djamā'ah*, group, 178.
- Djamma*, s'imbibier d'eau, absorber l'eau, 100.
- Djammal*, *yudjammil*, make pleasing, 92.
- Djanbiyat ḥurūf*, dagger set with coins, 148.
- Djarād* (pl. *djarādāt*), feudal governor, title, 99. See *ḳarād*.
- Djarrār*, galley-slaves, rowers (?), 40, 88.
- Djawābāt*, written replies, 168.
- Djawālī*, poll-tax on Christians and Jews, 93.
- Djawharah*, Jewel (prop. name of vessel), 136.
- Djāyīz*, see *dang*, 144.
- Djidār*, rampart, 160.
- Djihād*, Holy War, 2, 18, 30, 49, 54, 76.
- Djihah*, front, side, 160, 161; direction, 176.
- Djimmah*, leakage, 100. See *yimmah*.
- Djiwār*, neighbours, protected persons (?), 176.
- Djizyah*, poll-tax on Christians and Jews, 180. See *mutawallī*.
- Djubn*, *d. madjlūb*, imported cheese, 36.
- Djūkh*, cloth, 62, 63.
- Djulāhik* (pl. *āt*), cross-bow, 176.
- Djund*, troops, 59.
- Djurr* (imper.), row, 88.
- Duhā*, high morning, 88.
- Dukk*, Duke, 45.
- Écu* 183, *écu espèce*, 152, French and Spanish *é.*, 150.
- Emir*, see *Amīr*.
- Fakāk al-rahn*, that wherewith the pledge is redeemed, 68. See *fikāk*.
- Fakhīdhah*, branch, 64.
- Faḳīh*, legal scholar, &c., 53, 54, 56.
- al-Falak*, astronomy, 58.
- Fānūs*, lamp, *f. billawr*, crystal lamp, 141.
- Faqīr*, 129.
- Faraḳ*, impose a tax, 181. See *firḳah*.
- Farānṣā*, see *riyāl*, 146.
- Farāsilah*, weight of 10 maunds, 151.
- Faṣṣ*, stone or gem, see *almās*, supra, 76.
- Fatāwā*, see *fatwā*.
- Fatilah*, fuse of matchlock, 122.
- Abū fatilah*, matchlock, 171.
- Fatrah*, see *azyab*, 175.

Fattash, search (of customs officials), 77.
Fatwā (pl. *fatāwā*), legal ruling, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 101, 103, 148, 150, 167, 168, 171.
Fawfal, areca, 176.
Fawḥ al-riḥ, under the wind, use of expl., 41, 58, 87.
Faza'a 'alā (variant reading), 61.
Fi'ah, category, 141.
Fiddah, silver, *f. khālīshah*, pure silver, 181; *f. Ṣan'āniyah*, *Ṣan'ā'* silver, 148; *f. Sulaimāniyah*, 140. See *dhahab*, *dīnār*.
Fikāk, release, 68, ransom, 76. See *fakāk*.
Filfil, pepper, 77.
Firḳah, a tax, 181. See *faraḥ*.
Firmān, yard of ship, 133.
Fitan (*s. fitnah*), troubles, 48.
Fiṭr, see 'Id al-Fiṭr.
Fitūr (incorrect reading), 177.
Fonduclī, coin name, 153.
Fonte, see canons, 159.
Foromali, yard of ship, 133. See *fīrmān*.
Fuckeas = *ūkiyah*, q.v., 151.
Fūl, beans, 79.
Fulūs, copper coin name, 141, 148; *f. khālīshah*, pure copper coins, 143. See *dhahab*, 'Uthmānī.
Furḍah, port, 161.
Fursān, horsemen, 136.
Fūtah, waist-wrapper, 35, 162.
Furwāh, madder, 54, 63, 100.

Galeão, 170.
Galère, 134.
Galion = *kaliun*, man-of-war, 179.
Gallivat, large rowboat, 135.
Garād (pl. *garāḡā*), chef, gouverneur, 81. See *djarād*, *ḡarād*.
Gh pronounced *k*, 135.
Ghadā', lunch, 183.
Ghaliyūn, galleon, 51, 111, 134, 179.
Ghalak, closure (of sea), 178.
Ghārah, sea-raiders, 124.
Gharīk, founder, sink, 63.
Gharrab bi-nafsi-hi, retired by himself, 75 (or read *gharrar*...?).
Ghashsh, adulteration, debasement, 147, 150.
Ghawwash, disturbance (?), 178.

Ghawth wa-khafar, succour and safe-conduct, 84.
Ghayār/ghiyār, damage, 100.
Ghilyāṭah, see *ḡilyāṭah*, sailing-ship, 135.
Ghiyār, see *ghayār*.
Gondole, 134.
Governador, Ar. *ḡubnūr*, 83, 95.
Ghurīb (pl. *aghribah*), grab, 44, 62, 67, 134; *ḡurāb*, a variant or error for *g.*, 135.

Ḥabbah, a grain, i.e. weight of a grain, 147.
Ḥabl, rope, see *ḡumbār*, 87.
Ḥadīd, see *dhīrā'* al-*ḥ. al-Miṣrī*, 160, 162. See *muṣaffah*, 87.
Ḥadjar, see *al-ḡirsh al-ḥ.*, 153, 154. See *riyāl*.
Ḥadjama 'alā, attack, 73.
Ḥadḡj, pilgrimage, 155.
Ḥadḡj wa-ḡadḡjah, pilgrimage and business, 5.
Ḥāfah, quarter (of a town), 26, 77.
Ḥafīṣ, see *al-bilād*, 53.
Ḥaiyar, to hold up, 72; *h. 'alā* = *mana'a wa-ḡabasa*, 82. See *tahyīr*.
Ha-jehōb (*yihājehēb*), *Mahri* for *djahab*, 68.
Hakama, to govern, 157.
Ḥakīm, governor, *ḥ. siyāsī*, political *g.*, 52; *h. of Abyan*, 108; *ḡakimah*, ruling, 157.
Ḥāl, *li-ḡāl al-ta'rikh*, today, at the present time, 155.
Hallab 'alā, to attack, 73, 176.
Hamadj (pl. *ahmādj*), pagans, 157.
Ḥamal, *ma yaḡmil bi-nā* . . . 'ind, does us no good with, 92. See alternative reading, *yadḡmul* .
Ḥaml, cargo, 68; load, 183.
Ḥammal (*yuhammil*) *kuwair al-markab*, to launch a ship, 80.
al-Han'ah, star name, 174.
Ḥaras, to garrison, 161.
Ḥarb, see *markab*.
Ḥarbi, person at war with Muslims, 87.
Ḥarf (pl. *ḡurūf*): (*a*), a gold coin, 34, 146, 182, 183; *ḥ. aḡmar* or *ḥ. dhahab aḡmar*, gold piece, 34, 118, 145, 154. See *djanbīyat ḡurūf*, 148. (*b*) not a gold coin, 151, 152, 153,

- 183; of small value, 151; *h. darāhim*, 151.
- Harraf*, to swing, turn, 122.
- Hasan*, used for elative form, 114.
- Haṣē* = *Ḥaṣī*, q.v., 99.
- Hashada ilā*, to recruit, 71.
- Hāshimī*, *al-dhirā'* *al-H.*, name of a cubit, 162.
- Hashishah*, hasheesh, 73.
- Hasīr-an*, see *khāsiy-an*, infra.
- Ḥaṭī* = *khalīfah*, title of king of Abyssinia, 99, 102. See *Haṣē*.
- Haṭṭa 'alā*, encamp against, 83.
- Ḥawālī*, error for *djawālī*, q.v., 93.
- Ḥawāsik*, type of vessel, 137.
- Ḥawā'idj*, necessities, 66.
- Ḥawsh*, court, 161.
- Ḥawṭah*, sacred enclave, 83.
- Ḥazirān*, June-July, 11.
- Ḥidjārat*, *h. al-madāfi'*, stone cannon-balls, 50.
- Hidjrah*, 174.
- Ḥimmaṣ*, chick-peas, 176.
- Hindī*, Indian, see *mūsini*, 33, 76; *Nairūz*, 175; *'ushūr*, 33.
- Ḥirz*, amulet, 141.
- Ḥiṣār*, fort, 49, 157.
- Ḥishmah*, politeness, 78.
- Ḥiṣyān* (s. *ḥaṣā'*), gravestones, 154.
- Ḥizmah*, *h. al-ḥaṣab*, bundle of millet-cane, 183.
- Ḥisan*, see *ṣan'ah*, 114.
- Ḥumūl*, lading (of ship), 58.
- Hūrī*, dug-out canoe, 133.
- Ḥuṣn* (pl. *ḥuṣūn*), fort, 46, 53, 60, 73.
- Ibrāhīmī*, a coin name, 141.
- Ibri*, see *'abarī*, 133.
- 'Id*, feast, *'Id al-Aḥḥā*, F. of Sacrifices, 49, 96; *'Id al-Fiṭr*, 105.
- Ifrandj*, Franks, i.e. Portuguese, see *ḥarāṭis*, *maḥdhūr*, *tadjhiz*.
- Iftakk*, break loose, 74; ransom oneself, 177.
- Iftatah*, i. *al-baḥr*, sea became open (to shipping), 174.
- Ihānah*, i. *li-'l-Muslimīn*, degradation of a Muslim's status, 33.
- Iḥtiyāl*, stratagem, 60.
- Iḳāmah*, *al-i. wa-'l-irsā'*, steering and mooring, 120.
- Ikrām*, welcome, 75; hence, feasting, 70.
- Imāmī*, see *al-Maḥām al-I.*, 123.
- 'Imārah*, fleet in building, 100; *al-'i. al-Sultānīyah*, the Sultān's fleet, 94.
- Indaḥaḥ*, *al-baḥr i.*, the sea is navigable, 174.
- Inkasar*, to be wrecked, 125.
- Ista'āna*, see *Istadjāra*, 84.
- Istadjāra*, *nasta'in bak wa-nastadjir bak*, we ask you for help and protection, 84.
- Istafakka*, to ransom, 63.
- Istaghalla*, derive advantage, profit, &c., 63.
- Istahfaḥa*, to preserve (life), 72.
- Istahrā* = *sār*, to go, proceed, 71.
- Istaḥarra*, to base oneself, 116.
- Ista'khadha*, grasp, take, 91.
- Istakla'a*, sense unknown, to dismast (?), 172-3.
- Istaklafa* = *istaysara*, to take prisoner, 172.
- Istakwā*, turn rough (sea), 90.
- Istamadda*, victual oneself, 114.
- Ista'sar*, to take prisoner, = *istaysara*, 172.
- Istatamm* (?), to have a complete cargo taken on board (?), 173-4.
- Istawda'a*, to deposit, 36.
- Istaysara* = *ista'sara*, to take prisoner, 172.
- Istifkāk*, redemption, ransom, 68.
- Iṣṭilāh*, i. *ahl al-Yaman*, technical usage of the Yemenites, 144.
- Itmi'nān*, see *amān*, 98.
- Jacht*, yacht, 120.
- Jahazi* = *djahāzī*, q.v., 133.
- Jelba* = *djalabah*, q.v., 134.
- Kabil*, in return, 92.
- Kabir*, chief, 90, 97.
- Kabir* (pl. *kibār*), i.e. *dirham k.*, coin name, 146, 147, 148, 149, 152, 153, 183; *Meccan k.*, 147. See *dirham*.
- Ḳabīān*, *k. al-sā'ī*, ship's captain = *rubbān*, 50.
- Ḳabuṭān*, captain, 70, 74.
- Ḳad*, used with suffixes, 79, 94.
- Ḳadaḥ*, a measure, *k. Ṣan'ānī*, 183.
- Ḳāḍī*, *cadi*, 116, 142, 168, 177.
- Ḳadīmah*, see *dirham*.
- Kaflah*, a weight, coin-weight, 138, 145, 149, 151-4, 181, 182; basic

- Yemenite coin, 143; unalterable, 144; *k. al-waqt*, *k.* of the time, 154; *k. al-Islām*, 181; *dirham k.*, 144, 182; *nusf k.*, 181; Yemeni *k.*, 182.
- Kā'idah*, capital, 108.
- Kailah*, a measure, *kailat Makkah*, 183.
- Kal'ah*, fort, 50.
- Kaliun* = *galion*, a man-of-war, 179.
- Kalām*, narrative, 93; *k. muntaẓam*, formal propositions, 42; *mā li k.*, I have no authority, 90; *al-k. al-ḳadīm*, old speech, 114.
- Ka-'l-khaḫīyah*, secretly, 87.
- Ḳalmī*, mast, 62.
- Kanā'is*, churches, 157.
- Ḳanbuṭān*, captain, 48, 65, 70, 73, 109, 110, 118.
- Kanṭubān*, see *Ḳanbuṭān*, 70.
- Kapudan*, 48.
- Ḳara'a 'alā* = *tawāḳafa 'alā*, stop, 61.
- Ḳarād*, a title, 79, 81, 99. See *djarād* and *garād*.
- Kārah*, black Ḥadramī cloth, 68. Cf. *kārwah*.
- Ḳaranful*, cloves, 68.
- Ḳarāḫīs al-Ifrandj*, Frankish paper, 36.
- Karawīyah*, spherical jar (?), 79.
- Karrānī*, clerk, used as *nisbah*, 32.
- Kārwah*, cloth stuffed with cotton, 68. See *kārah*.
- Ḳaryah*, village, 86.
- Ḳaṣab*, millet-cane, 183.
- Ḳāṣid*, envoy, 49, 76, 78, 97.
- Ḳasīs*, priest, 157.
- Ḳaṭā'i*, see *ḳiṭ'ah*.
- Katēra*, type of vessel, 133. See *kaṭīrah*.
- Ḳaṭīrah*, small coastal vessel, 133.
- Kawāḫil*, caravans, 98.
- Kawārīr*, clay pots, 71.
- Kawdah*, cowries, 10.
- Kawī*, strong, 62.
- Ḳawm*, tribesmen, 124; *k. waṭaniyīn*, native people, 157.
- Ḳaws*, bow, 171.
- Kawwar*, to launch, 80. See *kuwair*.
- Khafar*, see *ghawth*.
- Khafīyah*, *ka-'l-khaḫīyah*, secretly, 87.
- Khail*, horses, 136. See *markab al-k.*, 167; *mūsīm al-k.*, 167.
- Khaiyāl*, horseman, 176.
- Khalaf*, see *salaf*.
- Khalā'ik*, people, 53.
- Khalf al-marāhib*, taking on fresh water (of ships), 66.
- Khaliḫah*, caliph, see *haṭī*, 99.
- Khāliyah*, deserted, 76.
- Kharif*, season of year, 174.
- Khāsiy-an ḫasīr-an*, rendered 'with his tail between his legs', 48.
- Khālīṣ* (f. *ah*), pure, of coin-metal, 141, 143, 148, 181.
- Kharādī (-āt)*, taxes, tribute, 94, 138.
- Khasaba*, see *khashabah*, 135.
- Khashab*, wood, *k. mudjarrā*, sheathed wood, 161.
- Khashabah* (pl. *khashab*), sailing-ship, dhow, 48, 51, 74, 89, 135.
- Khashyū*, they feared, colloquial gram. form, 102.
- Khatab li*, give the address in the name of, 59. See *khutbah*.
- Khatt* (pl. *khutūl*), letter, document, author's manuscript, 65, 77, 78, 83, 99, 104; ship's papers, 76, 105; bill of lading, consignment note, 105; pass, *laissez-passer*, 105, 179.
- Khawf*, insecurity, 61.
- Khidmat al-bandakah*, service as musketeers, 60.
- Khizānah*, treasure, treasure-chest (?), 27, 137.
- Khumburah*, bomb, 71.
- Khumsīyah* (pl. *khamāsi*), a coin name, 152, 154.
- Khunkāriyah*, see 'amārat, 180.
- Khuṭbah*, address, 17, 33, 78.
- Kibār*, see *muhallakah*, 159.
- Ḳiblah*, qiblah, 160.
- Ḳilyāṭah*, galliot, 114, 134, 135.
- Ḳīrāt*, weight name, 145, 147, 150, 154, 162, 182; *k.* does not alter, 144; Egyptian *k.*, 145; Ṣan'ānī *k.*, 154.
- Ḳirsh* (pl. *kurūsh*), coin name, 34, 123, 126, 146, 147, 149-54; references to in Arabic sources, 139; references to in S. Arabian writers and not the *riyāl*, 146; *al-k. al-ḥadjar*, cash *k.* (?), 153, 154. See *Arslān k.* 123.
- Kīs*, bag (for wheat), 79.
- Kīṣah*, a container, a specified sum of money, 140. See *āltūn*.
- Ḳishr*, coffee-husk, 105.

Kitāb (pl. *kitābāt* and *kutub*), letter, 79, 94, 107.

Kit'ah (pl. *kaṭā'i'*), craft, galley, 65, 92, 135, 174.

Kit'ah, levy, 178.

Kiyās, astronomical observation, 58, 167, 174.

Komassi, coin name, probably *khum-sīyah*, q.v., 152.

Qubbuṭān, captain, 48, 69. See *kanbuṭān*.

Kubnūr, governor, 83.

Kuddām, ahead, 81.

Kuffār, infidels, 33.

Kuftān, robe, 97.

Kufūl, *k. al-baḥr*, closure of the sea, 178.

Kūkah, name of two-decked ship, 179.

Kumāsh wa-māl, effects, 100. See *akmishah*.

Kumbār, *ḥabl k.*, coir rope, 87.

Kunbūr, governor, 83.

Kunbuṭān, see *kanbuṭān*, 69.

Qurāb, see *ghurāb*, 135.

Kurūsh, see *ḳirsh*.

Kūr, town, 86.

Kūt, bastion, fort, tower-fort, 44, 60, 85, 86, 89, 90, 107; *al-k. al-baḥrī*, sea-fort, 89; *k. al-barr*, coastal fort, 90.

Kutia, type of boat, ship, = *cotia*, 65, 135.

Kūtiyah, type of boat, perhaps same as *cotia* and *kutia*, 65, 135.

Kuwair, *yuhammilū k. al-markab*, to launch, 80. See *kawwar*, *mukawwar*.

Laissez-passer, 105, 179.

Lāmu 'l-nās (a nickname), 167.

Latḥ, plank, see *sufrah*, 87.

Lisān, 'alā l., spokesman, 77.

Livres, 96.

Loubia, a coin name, 153.

Lubān, olibanum, 167.

Lyra, star-name, 174.

Ma'ālimah, pilots, navigators, &c., see *mu'allim*.

Madāfi', guns, see *ḥidjārat al-m.*, 50.

Madāfi'i, gunner, 51.

Madar, pot-clay, 122.

Madār, 'alaihi *al-m.*, relied upon, essential, 120.

Māddah, reinforcement, 104.

Maddār, potter, 122.

Madhūnah rang zain, painted a nice colour, 136.

Madines, a coin name, 150. See *maidin*, *maydin*.

Madjlūb, imported, see *djubb*, 36.

Ma'djūn, opium, 73.

Mafārish, carpets, 126.

Maghās, pearl-fishery, 44.

Maghlak, *m. al-baḥr*, time of the closure of the sea, 178.

Maghshūsh, adulterated, base (of coin), 77. Cf. *ghashsh*, *naḳd*.

Mahall, see *masdūd*, 90.

Mahātirah, see *mihtār*.

Mahattah, camp, 57.

Mahbūs, prisoner, 177.

Mahdhūr, *m. al-Ifrandj*, danger of the Frank, 167.

Mahmūdī, a coin name, 141.

Maidin, a coin name, 150; a 5-*m.* piece, 142. See *madines*, *maidin*.

Makāhil, see *mukhūlah*.

Maḳām, *al-m. al-Imāmī*, court of Imāms of Yemen, 123; *al-m. al-Sharīf*, Imāms of Yemen known as, 115.

Makān, *wa-illā makān-kum*, or else remain where you are, 90.

Makhtūm, sealed, see *bārūt*, 122; *martūk*, 90.

Maḳtal, death, 106.

Māl, goods, 65; *m. al-ḥarbī*, goods of foe of the Muslims, 87.

Malikah, queen, 125.

Mallāh, sailor, see *ṣārī*, 81.

Ma'lūm, name of a tax, *niṣf m. Djuddah*, half of the *m.* tax of Jeddah, 44. See 'uddah.

Mamlūk, slave, 77, 82, 105.

Mana'a, hold back, fortify, 73, 82.

Manāḳir, see *Mankūr*, 141.

Mandakh, landfall, 51, 58. See *antakh*, *mantakh*, *natakhāt*, *nattakh*.

Mānghir, Turkish coin name, 141. See *manḳūr*.

Manḥūt, hewn (of masonry), 160.

Manḳūr (pl. *manāḳir*), engraved, 141; a coin name, 141; Sulaimānī *m.*, 141. See *mānghir*.

Mantakh, landfall, place of entry of a

- port, 51, 52. See *antakh*, *mandakh*, *nattakh*, &c.
- Manzalah*, Mansion (of the Moon), 174.
- Marāḥil*, stages, 53.
- Marākib*, *m. mismārī*, nailed vessels, 135. See *markab*.
- Marāmī*, *m. li-'l-bārūd*, gun emplacements or embrasures, 160-1.
- Mardjān*, coral, 62, 63.
- Markab* (pl. *marākib*), ship, vessel, 45, 47, 52, 63, 80, 114; *m. al-ḥarb*, warship, 87; *m. al-khail*, horse-transport, 167; *m. Rāmah*, 33; *m. bā shirā'*, sailing-ship, 62; *m. ṭishār*, new ship, 87; *m. Bā Zar'ah*, 35. See 'adjz, *antakh*, *ḥammal*, *khalf*, *mismārī*, *ṣadr*, *ṭarah*, *ṭawwah*.
- Marsūm* (pl. *marāsim*), diploma, 77, 79, 84, 85, 92, 94, 95, 98; *tanfidh al-m.*, delivery of the diploma, 96.
- Martaḥ*, pin, 90.
- Martūk* = *makhtūm*, sealed, closed, 90.
- Masā'*, evening, see *ṣabāḥiyah*, 55.
- Masāṭir*, (diplomatic) documents, 42, 94.
- Masūd*, *maḥall m.*, narrow bit of land, 90.
- Mashāyikh*, name of a social class, 32, 53; ulema of, 32.
- Mashkhaṣ*, a coin name, 152. See *mesgas*, 152.
- Maṣlahah*, profit, 36.
- Mas'ūdīyah*, a coin name, 147.
- Maṭar*, *al-m. al-bishkāli*, rainy season, 89. See *bishkāli*.
- Maṭārīḥ*, mooring-places, 62.
- Mathākīl*, see *mithkāḥ*.
- Maund*, 151.
- Mawāḍi' mu'tādah* (*s. mawḍi'*), depots, 118.
- Māwardī*, see 'ūd, 126.
- Mawāsim*, see *mūsīm*.
- Mawshūr*, newly built, 87; 'ād-uh *mawshūr*, only newly built, 87.
- Mawsīm*, see *mūsīm*.
- Maydīn*, a coin name, 142, 143. See *madīnes*, *maidīn*.
- Mesgas*, a coin name, see *mashkhaṣ*, 152.
- Midfa'* (pl. *madāfi'*), gun, 124, 161; a shot, cannon-ball, 80, 106, 124. See *ḥidjārah*.
- Miftāḥ*, *m. al-baḥr*, time of sea being open to navigation, 178.
- Mihṭār* (*maḥātirah*), servant, attendant, 56, 64, 107.
- Mismārī*, *marākib m.*, nailed vessels, 135.
- Mismāriyah* (pl. -*āt*), cargo (nailed) vessels, 64, 135, 174.
- Miṣrī*, Egyptian, 160, 162, 182.
- Miswaddah* (pl. -*āt*), draft, rough draft, 104.
- Mithkāḥ* (pl. *mathākīl*), weight used in connexion with estimating coins, 76, 79, 153, 180, 182; does not alter, 144; *dīnār mathākīl*, 182; Yemeni *m.*, 159.
- Mu'allīm* (pl. *ma'ālimah*), navigator, pilot, captain, 57, 58, 91, 92; *ma'ālimah al-tadḥīdah*, ships' captains, 86; *m. taḥt al-riḥ*, see *riḥ*, 58.
- Mu'āmalah*, exchange, transaction, 142.
- Mu'ashshar*, liable to tithe, 44, 77; duties, 83, 161.
- Mubāshir*, inspector, 161.
- Mubḍī*, *rajul m. wa-mu'id*, Muslim who has encountered the infidel, 91.
- Muchsota*, a coin name, 153.
- Mufādāḥ*, *m. bi-'l-māl*, money ransom, 69-70.
- Mufādīn*, desperadoes, 103.
- Mufākharah*, boasting competition, 171.
- Mudḥāhid fī ṣabīl Allāh*, fighting in the Holy War, 44.
- Mudjarrā*, *khashab m.*, sheathed wood, 161.
- Mudjāwir*, neighbour (of God), a Mekkan, 93. See *bāsh al-mudjāwirīn*, 161.
- Muḥādḥafah*, exchange of fire, 71.
- Muḥālafah*, alliance, 107.
- Muḥallaḥ*, a coin, presumably with a circle, 143, 149; new *m.*, 143; *al-muḥallaḥah al-kibār*, 159, *m. radī*, a base *m.*, 143.
- Muḥlā*, plated, see *muṣaffah*, 87.
- Muhtaram*, respected, *m. wa-muhtasham*, honoured and respected, 86; perhaps means, exempt from taxation, 86, 168.
- Muhtasham*, see *muhtaram*, 86.
- Mu'id*, see *mubḍī*, 91.

- Muitos*, 180.
Mukaddam, chief, leader, headman, foreman, 57, 73, 81, 176.
Mukātabāt, letters, 77.
Mukattib, messenger, runner, 65, 84, 105.
Mukawwar, launched, 80. See *kawwar*, *kuwair*.
Mukhālīf, contrary (action), 36.
Mukhūlah (pl. *makāhil*), type of gun, 130; *makāhil nahāsīyah*, copper *ms.*, 130.
Mundj = *didjr akhḍar*, chick-peas, 77.
Muntaṣirah, Christian converts, 59.
Muntaṣam, see *kalām*, 42.
Murā'ah, consideration, 78.
Murabba', four-sided, 160.
Murassī/*Muraṣṣī*, anchored, 62.
Muraṣṣī, see previous.
Murattab, levy, 96.
Murūwvah, chivalrous treatment, 78.
Musā'adah, see *nadjdah*, 84.
Muṣaffah, plated, 161. See *muḥlā*.
Muṣālahah, peace agreement, truce, 33, 65.
Mushāḍjarah, quarrel, 103.
Mushakkkhaṣ, a coin name, 182.
Mushrik, heathen, 125.
Mūsīm/*Mawṣim* (pl. *mawāsīm*), trading fleet, 55, 82, 110, 167; *al-m. al-Daimānī*, trade fleet arriving at Daimānī season, 54; *al-m. al-Hindī*, Indian trade fleet, 33, 76; *m. al-khail*, horse trade-fleet, 167; *mawṣim al-asfār*, season of voyages, 178.
Mustaṣrikk b., asking for aid of, 108.
Muta'ahhid, engaging in an 'uhdah contract, 142. See 'uhdah.
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Muṭarrib, herald, 35. See *taṭrūbah*.
Mutawallī, *m. al-djizyah*, official in charge of poll-tax, 180. Cf. *djizyah*.
Mutawwih, moored, 63. Cf. *tawwah*.
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Nadjal, discharge cargo, 84, 100.
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Nadjdī, north, 88.
Nahās, copper, 63. See *makāhil*.
Nā'ib (pl. *nuwwāb*), governor, 72; officers, 72.
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Nakd (pl. *muḥūd*), money, *n. magh-shūsh*, base money, 147; *zakāt al-muḥūd*, 146.
Nākhudhā/*Nākhūdḥah*, ship's captain, 22, 34, 40, 57, 58, 64, 177.
Nakīb, commander, 109; *n. al-Ashraf*, chief of Saiyids, 175.
Naos, 170, 171.
Naṣaba, set up, 154.
Nāshir, unfurled, 87.
Nāṣifah, half, 74.
al-Nasr al-Wāki', name of a star, 174.
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Niṣf, half, 33, 44. See *ma'lūm*, *nusf*, 'ushūr.
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Radī, base, of coin, see *muḥallaḥ*, 143.

Rahīnah, pledge, 69. Cf. *rahn*.

Rahn, see *fakāk*, 68.

Rakabah, neck, of land, 69.

Rakabah, pl. of *rākib*, q.v., 68.

Rākib (pl. *rakabah*), passenger, 68.

Rakīk, slaves, 66.

Rāmī (pl. *rumāh*), a shot, i.e. one who shoots, 73; rendered as musketeers or archers, 53, 65, 109, 171; *al-rumāh al-'askar*, musketeers, soldiers, 171.

Ramyah, a charge, *ramyatain min bārūt*, two charges of powder, 62.

Rang, colour, paint, see *madhūnah*, 136.

Rās, head, of horse, 167; *r. ṭawīl*, long prow, 134.

Rasā'il, letters, correspondence, 168.

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Ṣādaf, coincide with, 174.

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Ṣadj', rhymed prose, 161.

Ṣadr, breast (of a building), 166; *s. al-markab*, prow of ship, 177.

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Sāfil, south, 91; *fī s.*, south, 75; *min s.*, south, 75, 91; *mil-'ālī wa-'s-sāfil*, from north and south, 75.

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Ṣālah, to make truce, 99.

Ṣalb, crucifying, 95.

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Šakardah, quick, active, dextrous, 114.
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al-Sha'm, the north, 102.
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Šanak, to hang, 95.
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Šhayātīn, hooligans, 53.
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Tadjahhaz, make, form a (naval) expedition, 57, 67.
Tadjhiz (pl. *tadjāhiz*), expedition, fleet, squadron, 48, 53, 57, 59, 67, 100, 108, 136; *t. al-Ifrandj*, the Frankish fleet, expedition, 74, 75, 136; *t.*, fitting out, 85. This term seems invariably to be used of the Portuguese.
Tadjridah, expedition, fleet, 41, 66, 76, 77, 79, 99, 104, 107, 110, 136; *al-t. al-mansūrah*, ever victorious fleet, 94. See *ma'ālimah al-t.*, 86. This term seems invariably used of the Mamelukes or Turks.
Taghaiyar, go out of action (gun), 51.
Taghlik al-bahr, closure of the sea, 100, 102, 175, 178.
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Tahaṣṣal, assemble, collect, make ready, 58, 71.
Tahridj, ban, 167.
Tahšin, fortification, 161.
Taht, before, close by, near, 47, 89, 109. See *riḥ*.
Tahyir, holding back, 49. See *haiyar*.
Tair, bird, see *bunduk al-t.*, 176.
Takaffā, *t. sharra-hum*, ensure against their malevolence, 49.
Tākāt, embrasures, 161.
Takhattaf, to act the pirate, to rob, 49, 58, 105.
Takrir, *t. al-aḥwāl*, ratify state of affairs, 98.
Takšir, short-coming, 36.
Talāk, divorce, 82.
Talbīs, removable mat (on dhow), 134.
Talī'ah, swift vessel, 107, 136.
Talla', to lade (a ship), 87. See *taṭli'*.
Tama', greed, 76.
Tama'a 'alā, be inspired by cupidity of, 103.
Tamakkana, to fortify oneself, 85; to make ready, 120.
Tanfidiḥ, *t. al-marsūm*, delivery of the diploma, 96.
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Tarah, to land, moor, 92; *t. fi 'l-sāhil*, moor at the coast, 62, but also *t. 'alā*, 62; *tarhah*, action of mooring, 62; *t. bayāriḥ*, dip flags, 87. See *maṭrah*, *tawwah*.
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Ṭaṣrif, control, 58.
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Ṭaṭrūbah, proclamation, 35. See *muṭarrib*.
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Ṭibb, medicine, 168.
Tibn, straw, 183.
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Ṭūfān, hurricane, 54.
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'Udad, equipment, gear, 64, 78, 79.
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'Ushāriyah, *dīnār* 'u., *dīnār* composed of 10 dirhams, 144.
'Ushūr, tithes, duties, customs, 'U. *al-Hindī*, tax on Indian trade fleet, 33.
'Uṭb, cotton, 69.
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B k s māṭ, *B r s māṭ*, *B sh māṭ*, biscuit, 79.
K d wīyah, a jar (?), 79.
K. f. tah, 73.
'lūk, *al banādīk al-'lūk*, a type of musket, 171.

P k s māṭ, biscuit, 79.
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